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Mr. MAITLAND'S
ACCOUNT
OF
INOCULATING
THE
SMALL POX
Vindicated,

From Dr. WAGSTAFFE'S Misrepresentations of that PRACTICE;
with some Remarks on Mr. MASSEY'S Sermon.

The Second Edition.

To which is added,
His First ACCOUNT of *Inoculating*
the SMALL POX.

L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by J. PEELE, at *Lock's*
Head in *Paternoster-Row*. 1722.

MR. MATTAM'S
A C C O U N T
OF
INOCULATING
THE
SMALL POX
VIRUS.

By JOHN MATTAM, Esq.
of the County of Middlesex.
LONDON:
Printed by J. JOHNSON, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1783.



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TO
THE HONoured
Sir *HANS SLOAN*, Bart.
PRESIDENT
Of the
Colledge of PHYSICIANS, &c.



ERMIT Me, Ho-
noured S I R, to
Inscribe these few
Sheets to you. They
are written in *Vindication* of
the *Practice of Inoculating the*
SMALL POX,

A 2

Your

DEDICATION.

Your known Candour and Experience encourage me to submit them to your Censure, with Regard not only to the Safety of the *Method*; but likewise to the Truth of the *Facts* here contested. I am under great and many Obligations,

Honoured Sir,

Your most Obedient


Humble Servant,

CHARLES MAITLAND.

Mr.



Mr. MAITLAND'S
Account of
INOCULATING
THE
Small Pox Vindicated, &c.

 Am very Sensible of the Respect that is due to the Profession, and Character of the Author of the Letter against *Inoculating the Small Pox*; but am no less sensible of the Obligation I lye under to vindicate my own Reputation, which a violent Fit of Sickneſs hath hitherto hinder'd me from doing. And I can do it with the more Freedom, becauſe I am conſcious to my ſelf, that I began this Practice in *England* with the ſame View to the *Publick Good*, with which, I hope, the Learned Author condemns it. I muſt take the Liberty to ſay, that allowing the Doctor's Abilities to be as great as poſſible in his own Profession, he ſeems not quite ſo well qualify'd to write upon this Subject; becauſe of the Narrowneſs of his

Experience (as far as appears by his Letter) and his partial Credulity, or Incredulity in Matters of Fact, which he takes from others; and lastly, because of strong Prejudices, which impose upon his most excellent Understanding; and draw him into Reasonings, which either are inconsequential, or conclude strongly for the Practice of *Inoculation*, which they are brought to overturn. All these, I believe, will appear very plain to any Impartial Reader, in the following *Animadversions*, in which I will endeavour to be as short as the Subject will allow.

The Letter pretends to be an Admonition to Physicians not to meddle in this Practice of *Inoculation*, 'till they are better ascertain'd, by Experience, of the Success of it: At the same Time, it is a most warm Dissuasive, not only to Physicians, but to all Sorts of People, not to practise it at all; and consequently, to deprive them of all Possibility of coming by Experience. Would it not sound somewhat absurd, if any one should say to a young Physician, Pray, Sir, don't Practise 'till you have Experience? But it is still more so in this Case, because in a Practice that is entirely to be laid aside, you can neither have the Benefit of your own, nor other Peoples Experience.

As to Physicians meddling with this Practice of *Inoculation*, I can only say, it may favour too much of Novelty to be bigotly
zealous

zealous for it; and too much of a Faculty-Interest to be so violent against it. Physicians cannot ingraft People against their own, or their Parents Consent; and a Physician would be out of his Duty, who should persuade them to it contrary to their Inclinations: On the other Hand, If a Person, from the Experience of the Fatality of the *Small Pox* in general, or in his own Family in particular, should resolve to ingraft his Child, any Physician, who should dissuade him from it, might, in a great measure, be chargeable with the fatal Consequences of the Neglect of a Method, which the Parent had propos'd, as the only Means to save his Child's Life: And he would be still as much to blame, if when the Parent had resolv'd to ingraft his Child, he should refuse to attend him. It is very common with Parents, not only to leave their Children in Houses infected with the *Small Pox*, but to bring them into the Room, where their Brethren or Sisters lye ill of them; and a Parent who does so, conveys the Infection to his Child as deliberately, and according to the Doctor, certainly more than he, who orders him to be *Inoculated*. Would it not then be equally, impertinent in the Physician to deny his Attendance in either Case?

I must put the Doctor in Mind, that there are very few of the most useful Discoveries in Physick, that have not been strenuously

oppos'd by many of the Faculty upon their first Appearance. There is extant a Decree of the College of Physicians at *Paris*, against the Use of Antimonial Vomits: It were easy to assign many Instances of the like Nature.

As the Doctor is surpriz'd, *that an Experiment, practis'd only by a few ignorant Women, amongst an illiterate and unthinking People, should on a Sudden, and upon a slender Experience, so far obtain in one of the Politest Nations in the World, as to be receiv'd into the Royal Palace.* I hope he has not forgot, that the Practice of Curing Intermitting Fevers by the BARK, was introduc'd of a Sudden, by a barbarous *Indian*, if not into the Royal Family, into the Family of a Viceroy; and thence transmitted to us.

Page 7.] *The Blood of the English if we speak of it as National, is the Product of the richest Dyet, &c. Ergo, to bring 'em to a spare Dyet before they have the Small Pox, must be extremely dangerous and hurtful.* This must be the Doctor's Conclusion: mine, I own, would be the direct contradictory. If the Inflammatory State of the Blood, arising from the Richness of the Dyet, makes the *Small Pox* in *England* very mortal; That Practice, which either takes the Advantage of a contrary State of the Blood, or by a Spare Dyet introduces it, must be beneficial.

Page 8.] *The finest, the most Volatile, and indeed, Insensible Particles of the Animal Juices, are the most penetrating, and consequently the most contagious. And for the same Reason, the most noxious: Does it follow therefore, To convey the Infection by the grosser and sensible Parts, must be extremely unfit and dangerous? I confess, I should have inferr'd the contrary.*

The Symptoms are more or less, and the Distemper appears in a greater, or a less Degree, according to the State of the Blood at the Time of Infection. Therefore the Practice of Inoculation is highly to be encouraged, because it either finds, or puts the Blood into a good State, before the Infection; seems to be a more natural Conclusion, than the contrary One.

Page 10.] *If we could be assur'd, that the Distemper would not be equally uncertain by Inoculation, according to the Nature of the Injected Matter, or the Disposition of the Fluids, in the Person who receives it; so that it would constantly prove of the mildest Kind, Inoculation would, no doubt, be a very rational and useful Practice. The Doctor surely will not affirm, that a Person Inoculated is equally uncertain of the Circumstances mention'd, with one who catches the Small Pox by the common Way of Infection. First, He may be assur'd, if the Inoculation takes Place, of the Time when he*

he shall have the *Small Pox*. *Secondly*, That he has not the Infection by the insensible Particles, which the Doctor owns to be the most contagious; or which is near the same Thing, convey the Contagion the strongest. *Thirdly*, He may be as sure, as his Operator is careful, that he is infected by a favourable Kind. And, *Fourthly*, He may be much more sure of the Disposition of his Fluids, than a Person who catches them by Chance, after a Surfeit, or a Debauch: And after all this, he may be assur'd, if he has not absolute Certainty, (which, I believe, one has hardly in Blood-letting) that he has a much greater Probability to escape, which is sufficient Ground for human Prudence to act upon: If the Doctor will deny those Things, I think it is Folly to reason upon this Subject any longer: And if, as the Doctor says, *Inoculation may be a more uncertain Method to give the Contagion, than that which Nature has pursu'd*; it may be, notwithstanding that, much more safe.

Page 11.] *The very Choice that is made of a thick purulent Matter, to intermix immediately with the Blood, seems a little repugnant to our Reason, since we know, that the Particles have such a different Contexture, and such different Powers to Attract.* It may proceed from my Ignorance, or Dulness, but, I confess, I do not easily apprehend the Meaning of this Sentence: Whether

ther by *the Particles* he means the Particles of purulent Matter, or the Particles of Blood; or whether the Particles of purulent Matter have different attractive Powers, from those of the Blood, is not obvious from the Construction of the Sentence. I chuse rather to understand him in the last Sense, because he has afterwards very sagaciously discover'd, *That the blended Particles of Blood with Blood, may, in all Reason, be thought more likely to unite, and less liable to raise Commotions.* But it happens unluckily in the Case of *Inoculation*, the Design is to *raise a Commotion*; and the purulent Matter, for the Reason mention'd by him, is fittest for that Purpose; And his Observation, that *purging Medicines injected into the Blood will Purge*, does not prove, that the *Pus* of the *Small Pox*, mix'd with the Blood, may not raise the *Small Pox*. What he says in this Paragraph, as likewise in the following, concerning the Experiment of the *Mangey Dog*, proves, that *Pus* is a more proper Vehicle to convey Infection than Blood; I cannot find any more in it.

Page 13.] *It never came into the Heads of the Practitioners above-mention'd to raise Distempers by Art in a human Body.* Then I will be bold to say, it never came into their Heads to practise Physick; which, consider'd in a true Light, is founded upon that single Principle of *Curing Natural*, by raising

ing *Artificial Diseases*. What is Bleeding, but an artificial Hæmorrhagy; Purging, but raising an artificial Diarrhæa? Does the Vomiting produc'd by a Surfeit, and that procur'd by a Medicine differ so much, as that the One must be call'd a Disease, and the Other not? Are not Blisters, Issues, and Setons, artificial Imposthumations? I hope he has not forgot the *Τὸ πρὸς ποῖον* of his great Master *Hippocrates*. The Wounds and Amputations of Surgeons, differ only from accidental Ones, by the Manner and Intention; *Morbus est ille corporis status qui functiones Animales lædit*: And it may be likewise observ'd, that Physicians produce those Diseases in their Patients often by Way of Prevention as well as Cure; and in this they do nothing but imitate Nature, which often attempts the Cure of one Disease by another.

[Page 14.] His next Argument is taken from *the fatal Consequences of this very Matter it self returning into the Blood, in the very Height of the Small Pox, where there seldom is a full and sufficient Discharge by the Skin, &c.* One would imagine, that the natural Inference from this, would be to the Advantage of *Inoculation*; For if there are terrible Symptoms, which arise from Want of a sufficient Discharge of the purulent Matter in the *Small Pox*; *Inoculation*, which provides for such a Discharge, by

by artificial Out-lets, must needs be useful; and seems more proper than the Blisters, which the Physicians apply on that Occasion. As to the *fatal Consequences arising for Want of a sufficient Discharge upon the Skin*, I am afraid the Case is quite different from what the Doctor represents; for the more Matter is discharg'd upon the Skin, the more is often return'd into the Blood; witness the *confluent* Kind of *Small Pox*, where the Discharge upon the Skin, as well as the Symptoms arising from the Return of the Matter into the Blood, are both the greatest: And I believe it will be found, the less the Discharge upon the Skin, the less will be the Danger from these Symptoms. The Doctor says, *That one may always observe in this artificial Method (even where the Distemper is the fairest and most kindly) that the Pustules scarce ever plump up to that Degree, or contain so laudable a Matter, as they do in the natural Sort.* Here is an odd Jumble of the Words *always, scarce ever*: Suppose for *scarce ever* one put *seldom*, then the Sentence runs thus; *One may always observe the Pustules seldom plump up, &c.* What happens but seldom, happens sometimes; and to observe *always That* not to happen, which happens sometimes, is odd, or oddly express'd. I would be glad to know how many Cases the Doctor has observ'd, to frame this so general a Proposition upon;

of the contrary of which, Hundreds of Persons about this Town, who know the Disease perfectly, have been Eye-Witnesses.

Page 16.] The Doctor foresees some Inconvenience that must happen; from those *viscid Particles* intermixing with the Blood, without undergoing the common Alterations of Aliment. But they have that in common with the *Volatile* and most *Insensible Particles*. But then they are *viscid*, and therefore, (according to the Doctor's Reasoning) don't convey the Infection so strong: But they *occasion great Disorders*; Not so great as the *Insensible* and *Volatile Particles*. At last, they *break through the Glands of the Skin*: If only the small Quantity of purulent Matter, that mixes with the Blood, break thro' the Pores of the Skin, the Eruption, indeed, would be very small; But to cause an Eruption, is the very Intention of the Operation; the *Small Pox* cannot be produc'd without it: And if the Doctor still insists, that it is *only like the Small Pox*; all I can say is, If he had been pleas'd to attend Multitudes of Cases of *Inoculated Persons*, here and elsewhere in *England*, since this Practice began, he must have been convinc'd, that the *Eruptions*, produc'd by *Inoculation*, are the *Genuine Small Pox*. If his Arguments so far prevail, as to hinder any future *Inoculation*, he must for ever continue in his Mistake; If the Patient recovers, then it was only something

thing like the *Small Pox* ; If any one dies, then to be sure it was the *Small Pox* catch'd by *Inoculation*, and of the worst Sort. In this Paragraph it is no *Small Pox* ; by and by, it is a *Small Pox* so bad, that it is capable of *spreading the Small Pox* through a *whole City* ; and an *artificial Way of depopulating a whole Country*. This Way of Arguing is a very plain Proof of the strong Prejudices the Doctor lyes under ; and that as he has taken up his Opinion early, he is resolv'd to defend it obstinately.

Page 20.] The *Inoculators* are charg'd with *Acting like Empirics*, because *they are not ascertain'd of the different Doses for Children and Adults*. There does not seem to be any great Matter in this Nicety, by Experience, as it stands hitherto ; a small Quantity will communicate the *Small Pox*, and a greater has been found not to do hurt in any one Instance. If the *Inoculation* is perform'd by Incision, the different Apertures will answer that Intention : However, there is a great Difference between recommending Caution, and forbidding the Practice : It is still more strange to forbid the Practice, 'till that is determin'd, which can only be found out by Practice. According to this Principle, it had been impossible ever to have found out any Thing in Medicine ; for he that gave the first Dose of a Vomiting, or Purging Medicine, or of any other, could

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never

never be sure of the proper Dose; nay farther, according to this Doctrine, it is impossible to give any Body their first Dose of any Medicine: For who can tell what is the proper Dose for any particular Person, there being often Singularities in every one's Constitution? In all these Matters, Mankind generally govern themselves by common Sense, and strong Probabilities; there being no absolute Certainty in any human Affairs.

Page 25.] The Doctor returns to his former Point, that it is *not the Genuine Small Pox, and consequently no Security against that Disease*. The Matters of Fact I will answer by themselves; all I shall say at present is, that if the Symptoms of the Ingrafted *Small Pox* are more mild, than those of the natural Sort, I hope the Doctor will not bring that as an Objection against the Practice. I believe the Patient, in this Case, has just as great Certainty for not having the *Small Pox* again, as any other Person who has had them; *which is no absolute one*. Those who are Infected by any Method, I believe, are much in the same Condition, as to their Security from the Disease for the future; for which, I will give the Doctor this one plain Proof, which is sufficient to establish a moral Certainty. This Practice of *Inoculation* has been continu'd for many Years in several Countries; if the *Inoculated* had been subject to catch the *Small Pox* a second Time, something
of

of this Kind must have happen'd ; and a very few Instances of this, must have put an End to the whole Practice : For can any one imagine, that People in their Senses would have continu'd a troublesome Experiment, which was not effectual for the Purpose for which it was design'd ? I will take the Freedom to say, that this single Reflection is a stronger Proof of this Point, than all the Doctor's Doubts and Suggestions, who knows nothing to the contrary ; as I shall shew by and by. May it not at least be adviseable to allow a Truce in the Dispute, 'till an untested Case of that Kind happens ?

Page 28.] But, *Innocation does not always take Place and produce the Disease* : is Therefore the Practice to be left off ? There are some Persons, who by a Speciality of their Constitutions, seem hardly susceptible of the Distemper ; and others, who have had the Disease, but it has been mistaken, or forgot. They go farther in *Turky*, and affirm, that the very running Sores are a Security against the *Small Pox*. There may be, indeed, a strong Presumption, that Persons, who have had so severe a Tryal as *Inoculation*, may not be susceptible of the Distemper. Besides, there are several Incidents in performing the Operation, which may not be carefully attended to ; if the Patient has not the *Small Pox*, there is little Hurt done. There are some, whom a very strong Dose of Physick

sick will not purge: What then? must we never afterwards give a Purge?

If the Doctor's Aphorism, laid down, *Page 36*, That an *Experiment, to make it useful, always must be nearly uniform*; there must be no such Thing as the Practice of Physick; unless by the Word *nearly* he allows a very great Latitude.

I cannot allow it as a solid Argument against *Inoculation*, that the *French* and *Italians* have not begun it; no more, than that the House of *Bourbon* has never been *Inoculated*. Were the Doctor's Letter publish'd in *Italian* too, as it is in very elegant *French*, both Nations, to be sure, will be sufficiently frighten'd from ever attempting this Practice: And to make the Antidote still more universal, let us have it in *Sclavonic* and *High-Dutch, Welsh* and *Irish* also.

What the Doctor says, *Page 44*, of the *Attention that is to be given to the natural Weaknesses of the Constitutions of the Persons Inoculated*, is a very proper Caution; and perhaps Miscarriages, if any such there be, may be owing to the Neglect of it. But, as I hinted before, if the least ill Success, even in the most innocent Branches of the Practice of Physick, arising from Want of Care, or Skill, should be a perpetual *Bar* to the Repetition of them, People must leave off to Purge, Vomit, Bleed, or even to cut Corns, of which Operation
several

several die in a Year within the Bills of Mortality.

Page 45.] But it is *possible, and even probable, the Matter of the Small Pox may communicate the Diseases of the People from which it is taken*. This is hard! The Doctor will scarcely allow, that the Matter of the *Small Pox* will communicate the *Small Pox*; but it is *probable*, that it will communicate any other *Disease*. *Que vive Thomas Diaphoinus, il n'a Jamais été vaincu en dispute!* How are we sure, that the Aliment, or Drugs, both for External and Internal Uses, don't communicate the Diseases; nay, the very natural Qualities of those Animals from which they are taken? I think, indeed, the Election of wholesome Subjects to *Inoculate from*, is a proper Caution; but the Doctor demands absolute Certainty, which cannot be found in any human Affair, and less still in any Medical or Chyrurgical Practice. Mankind in all those Matters govern themselves by the strongest Probabilities; and that these are on the Side of *Inoculation*, I shall plainly demonstrate.

Page 51.] The Doctor's Argument from the *jarring Opinions* of the *Innoculators*; if all he says were true, is just as strong against the Practice of Physick in General: For if no Body was to take any Medicine 'till *Doctors cease to differ*, I believe the Faculty would starve: May we not with more Truth affirm,

affirm, that the *Anti-inoculators* (a Word more sonorous, and longer by two Syllables than that of *Inoculators*) are as inconsistent and changeable in their Opinions? One while they asserted, that it was impossible to give the *Small Pox* by this Method; when Experience had convinc'd them, some of 'em at least, of the Untenableness of this Doctrine; then they allow'd, if it prov'd mortal, that it was the *Small Pox*; if they escaped, to be sure they would have them again; If it was a favourable Sort, then there was some inveterate Distemper transplanted with it; If any Boils or Imposthumations appear'd at the going off of the *Disease*, those were the Effect of the *Inoculation*, not the Consequence of the *Small Pox* in General, or of the Constitution of the Patient. These are certainly, not the Reasonings of ingenious and inquisitive Philosophers, but the Cavils of interested Disputants; and it would be ridiculous, for any Man to be determin'd by the jarring Opinions, either of the one Side or t'other.

There is nothing material in the Way of Argumentation, 'till we come to *Page 62*. There this *Practice* is condemn'd, as it tends to propagate and continue an Infection in any Place: Here again it is the *Small Pox*; else why should it spread the *Small Pox*? I answer, if it be true, that the Generality of Mankind have the *Small Pox*; if they
are

are rare in some Years, they must be rife in others; because a new Stock of Subjects susceptible of the Distemper is produc'd; and the Operation of this Distemper upon the Mass of Mankind in any particular Place, is nearly uniform. When this general Run of the *Small Pox* happens; I take it to be indifferent to the Mass of the Inhabitants of any Place in general, except in this one particular, that when the Disease is produc'd by a bad Constitution of Air, as it is most Epidemical, so it is then most mortal. Now if this Distemper should happen to be propagated by an artificial Method in a favourable Season, would not this be rather an Advantage to Mankind than otherwise? For example, The Doctor alledgeth that hardly one of a hundred hath dy'd of the natural Sort this Year; would it not then have been highly profitable to Mankind, that a general Run of the *Small Pox* had happen'd in so favourable a Season; and this would still operate more strongly for the Benefit of Mankind, if not only the Season, but the Method of Propagation had ten to one of odds of producing a mild Sort. So that this Argument of the Doctor's has the Misfortune, with a great many of the rest, to prove the Contradictory of his Conclusion: But without taking the Advantage of the Doctor's hardy Assertion, that hardly one of a hundred have dy'd this Year of the *Small Pox*:

I will examine it a little by Numbers. I have not all the Bills of Mortality by me, but by a small Specimen, the Accompt stands thus:

Dy'd of all *Diseases*. Dy'd of the *Small Pox*.

1707.	21600	-	-	-	1707.	1078
	21291	-	-	-		1687
	21800	-	-	-		1024
	24620	-	-	-		3138
	19833	-	-	-		0915
	21198	-	-	-		1943
	21057	-	-	-		1614
	26569	-	-	-		2810
	22232	-	-	-		1057
	24436	-	-	-		2427
	23446	-	-	-		2211
1718.	26523	-	-	-	1718.	1884
<hr/>					<hr/>	
	274605					21788

By which it appears that the single Branch of Mortality occasion'd by the *Small Pox* is some Years $\frac{1}{4}$ and in a Circle of twelve Years about $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole Mortality in general; For 21,788 is near $\frac{1}{12}$ of 274,615. During this Term of Years, *London* wanted an Addition of near 22000 People yearly to keep it equally full. If all Mankind had the *Small Pox*, then 22000 People, one Year with another had it; of which $\frac{1}{12}$ dy'd; If

one

one half of Mankind had the *Small Pox*, then 1 out of 6, who had the *Distemper*, dy'd of it. Which, by the way, shows the Doctor to be out in his Calculation; for if only 1000 die this Year, as perhaps may appear by the Bills, 100,000 must have been sick of the *Distemper*, to make his Assertion true, *that one only of a hundred dy'd*: If he means it only of Children, it is a strong Argument for *Inoculation*, because it allows that to be a favourable Age.

By the Bills of Mortality of *Breslaw* it appears, that the Mass of Mankind lose above 25 *per Cent*, before they are a Year old; that is, of a 100 that are born, more than 25 die that first Year: I may say with great Probability that not $\frac{3}{9}$ of those have the *Small Pox* at all; but die of other *Diseases*; and that in the Account, as it stands before us 8 of 9 of Infants may be reckon'd neither Subjects of the *Distemper*, nor of this Practice, but as it were *non-Entities*. Therefore out of the 22000 People, the yearly Recruits of *London* abovemention'd, subtracting 4000, there remains 18000, of which yearly there died above 1800 of the *Small Pox*; that is, $\frac{1}{10}$: So that the *Small Pox* may be reckon'd to cut off $\frac{1}{10}$ of Mankind above the Age of one Year. I wish the World is not malicious enough to say, that Physicians (like the Clergy) are now struggling for their Tenths. But to proceed, If, as I said, all Mankind a-

bove a Year old have the *Distemper*, 1 out of 10 dies of it; If one half, then 1 out of 5, which have the *Distemper* the natural way, dies of it: If $\frac{3}{4}$ of Mankind have the *Small Pox* once in their Life, then of them 2 out of 15 die: If $\frac{5}{6}$, then 3 out of 25, which have the *Distemper*, die of it. According to D. *Nettleton's* Calculation; out of 1245, who had the natural *Small Pox* in some Neighbouring Towns in *Yorkshire* there died 270, which is about 22 out of a hundred. As to the prudential Part of *Inoculation*, it is all one whether a greater or lesser Number have the *Small Pox*; for the Chance of not dying by the *Small Pox* the natural Way, is made up of the Chance of escaping the *Distemper*, and that of escaping in the *Distemper*. If $\frac{1}{2}$ of Mankind have the *Distemper*, it is $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{2}{5}$ or $\frac{1}{5}$: If $\frac{3}{4}$ of Mankind have the *Distemper*, then it is $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{2}{5}$ or $\frac{6}{20}$ or $\frac{3}{10}$ &c. Still all Mankind must be consider'd with the Seeds of a *Distemper* within them, which has the Chance of 1 to 9 to cut them off. Then surely they don't merit such hard Names, of *Homicides* and *Spreaders of Infection*, who do but attempt to lessen the Dread and Danger of this terrible Pestilence.

By the Accounts of the *Inoculation* in *England* and the *Plantations*, tho' it is an early Practice, and has not been manag'd with due Care and Circumspection; out of about 500 on whom it has been perform'd, the Enemies
of

of the Practice have not produc'd the Names of above 3 Persons that have died; allowing their Deaths chargeable on this Practice, which I believe is not in Fact true: A Practice which brings the Mortality of the *Small Pox* from one in ten to one in a hundred, if it obtain'd universally would save to the City of *London* at least 1500 People yearly; and the same Odds wou'd be a sufficient prudential Motive to any private Person to proceed upon, abstracting from the more occult and abstruse Causes which seem to favour this Operation. It is a self evident Proposition, that a Person who receives the Infection by *Inoculation*, has a much fairer Chance for his Life, than he who takes it the natural Way; unless it can be affirmed, that the having the Election of all the Circumstances of the Disease, is of no manner of Advantage. For Example, it must be of some Benefit, to know that one is to have the Distemper nine or ten Dayes before it comes; rather than to be surpris'd, or perhaps mistaken in it. To have it at an Age when it is not so mortal: To take it when the Body is in a temperate and cool State, rather than in a contrary one: When the Constitution of the Air is favourable, rather than malignant: After a cool Dyet and other due Preparations, rather than after a Surfeit or a drunken Bout. For if the principal Strokes towards the Cure, are in the Regimen, in the

Begin-

Beginning of a Distemper; it must be still more so, in a Regimen before it begins. If the Doctor will deny these Truths, I have done. But if the having all the Circumstances abovemention'd in one's Power be of some Advantage, then the *Practice of Inoculation* cannot be hurtfull but beneficial to Mankind in general: Then why must an Experiment already practis'd with Success in another Country, that bids fair to save the Lives of Multitudes, be entirely laid aside and crush'd in the Bud? Cannot the learned Physicians, who so zealously oppose it, have a little Patience, and Time will clear up many Things in it, which perhaps may be now doubtful? Therefore since this Practice cannot be hurtful but beneficial to Mankind in general, it ought not to be discouraged.

As to the Inconsistencies and Mistakes, the Doctor is pleas'd to charge me withall: I shall always be so ingenuous as to own such, as my Inadvertency or Want of Experience have subjected me to. What I wrote was according to the best Information or Experience I had at that Time. General Propositions, in practical Matters, are not to be understood in the Strictness of a Logical Universality. The Symptoms from which I exempted the Inoculated *Small Pox*, are to be understood in a Comparative Sense, with regard to those of the natural Sort; the Word *usual* will justify this Meaning, in
which

which any Reader, not quite Captious, will interpret them. If with all these Restrictions I cannot be favourably understood, I beg Pardon; and as I said before, I shall be always willing to recant any Mistake. But as on the one hand, I study to keep myself free from Prejudices, so as to be susceptible of any future Conviction, which may arise from *Experience*; so I wou'd not submit a Point already establish'd, to the silly Cavils of those who have none.

I am sure, I am not mistaken in the Account of the *Inoculation* at *Newgate*; but the Doctor is. I referr the Reader to my printed *Journal*; whereby it appears, that the Operation was fairly and equally perform'd on all: And I can with great Truth, declare, that I had no Intention to make any Difference in the Incisions; nor was there, indeed, any made. The Doctor not having seen *Evans*, the Man who had had the *Small Pox* before, till next Day, when they were partly heal'd, this might occasion his Mistake. Nor was the Matter taken from a violent Flux-kind, but from a full distinct Coherent kind, and at the proper Time. Mrs. *Tompions* Boil (as he call's it) on her Arm; was not the same from the first Day of the Eruption; nor the only one she had: But was a fair, regular Pustule of the *Small Pox*, of which also she had others, if he had been pleas'd to examine. *Alcock*,
who

who had the *Goal-Distemper*, had also 60 Pustules, at least, of the *Genuine Small Pox*; with a gentle Fever before the Eruption. As to all of them, having had but few Eruptions; I hope, that is no Objection against the Practice. And as to the Time and Manner of their Pustules going off; they were much the same, as in the gentler Sort of *Small Pox*: Only that *Alcock* opening his with a Pin, made them fall off sooner. The Doctor might have taken Notice, that *Eliz. Harrison*, who had them as gently, at least, as any of them; has been employ'd since in Nursing above 20 People in the *Small Pox*, and never has catch'd them: Which any impartial Person will judge to be a better Proof of the Genuineness of the Distemper, than all his Observations can evince to the contrary.

As to Mr. *H - - - n's* Case, it is true. But the Inference is only, that there was one Person, on whom the *Inoculation* did not take place. I hope the Doctor has not forgot that he own'd to me that Mr. *Colt's* Children had the true *Small Pox*; tho' their Case differ'd in nothing from those in *Newgate*; but in the Degrees of the Distemper.

As to the Experiment in *St. Thomas's Hospital*, after two vastly large Incisions, and an immoderate Quantity of the Matter apply'd; three Days and Nights Confinement of the Patient to his Bed, without opening his Bandage, a warm Regimen, in a hot Season;

son; I visited him, (to know the Truth of the Noise that was made) on the sixth Day after the Operation, and saw no Eruptions; nor had he any; nor were his Incisions digested: I took the Freedom to ask Doctor *Wadsworth* then present, whether the Sores (pointing at them) were like those he saw at *Newgate*? And he fairly own'd, he cou'd not say they were. I again saw this Patient a Week after, but still no Eruption; If any Eruptions happen'd between these Times, they could not be the *Small Pox*: And I believe, none who saw and attended both Experiments, can truly say, they were like those in *Newgate*.

I own that it seem'd probable that the six Persons in Mr. *Batt*'s Family might have catch'd the *Small Pox* of the Girl that was *Inoculated*; but it is well known that the *Small Pox* were rife not only at *Hertford*, but in several Villages round it, many Months before any Person was *Inoculated* there: Witness Mr. *Dobb*'s House in *Christ's Hospital* Buildings, where he himself died of the worst Sort with Purples; and his Children had it. Some other Families there, and particularly Mrs. *Moss*'s, where the above-named *Elizabeth Harrison*, *Inoculated* in *Newgate*, attended several Persons under it, to prove whether she would catch the Distemper by Infection; Both *Latin Boarding-Schools*; Mr. *Stout*'s and Mr. *Loyd*'s Families;

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lies ; Mr. *John Dimsdale's* Coachman and his Wife ; and Mr. *Santoon's* Maid-Servant, who was brought to the same House, and died of the Confluent kind of the *Small Pox* ; I took Matter from the said Coachman to *Inoculate* Mr. *Batt's* Daughter in the Country Farm House, the *first* Ingrafted in that Country. After this I took Matter also from Mr. *Stout's* Maid-Servant to *Inoculate* Mrs *Heath's* two Sons ; which were all I *Inoculated* in that Town. Besides all these there were a great many more, whose Names I cannot at present call to mind both in Town and Country about it, who had the *Small Pox*, and several died of it, the Summer before I began this Practice : These are Matters of Fact, which the Doctor's Author cannot disprove. To charge then the Spreading the *Infection* and the Consequences of it, thro' that Town, upon two single Boys who were *Inoculated* in a Court in a manner separated from all the rest of the Town, which was fuller of the *Small Pox* before than after the *Inoculation*, is not agreeable to that Ingenuity which the Doctor seems to demand of his Adversaries.

The Case of Mr. *De Grave's* Daughter which fills up three or four Pages in the Letter, and upon which the Doctor lays the Foundation of his *Hypothesis*, the Reader may please to take from her Father's own Words in his Letter annex'd. From which it appears

pears that the Girl had the *Small Pox* but once, of the favourable kind; and in all Probability by *Inoculation*. So far the Case is singular, that it did not take place till eleven Weeks after the Operation; and untill the Blood was put into a Ferment by violent Motion. Here the Doctor triumphs in his *Dilemma*, *Either she had, or she had not the Small Pox by Inoculation*; If the first, then it is plain *Inoculation* is no *preventive* of the *Disease*; If the second, the *Experiment* is good for nothing. I think in this way of Argumentation, to make it conclusive, there ought to be a perfect *Enumeration*; but here is a *Third* Case, and the real one, not enumerated; which is, that the Girl had the *Small Pox*, and that but once, by *Inoculation*; tho' not at the same Time when the Doctor lays the Scene of his *Dilemma*. But to consider the Second Branch; allowing that this *Small Pox* was the natural Sort, and not produc'd by *Inoculation*, of which, I think, the contrary is plain; sure it is a strange Inference to say, that because *Inoculation* has not taken Effect in one Subject, it is therefore good for nothing. The Doctor's excellent Judgment will instruct him to reason with more Temper and Solidity in other Matters of his Profession; and not make Use of his *Aphorism*, *That one Instance* is as good as a thousand in Matters of Experience. What the Doctor says of his

Fears of a great Class of Hypothetical Diseases, is all vanish'd, and the Girl is very well. I refer the Doctor upon this Head of the Preventive Power of *Inoculation*, to the Letter which he lays so much Stress upon, from *Boston*; where his Ally in this Dispute owns, *That not one of the Inoculated (being about three Hundred) during the Space of five or six Months, in a general Run of the Small Pox, has had the Small Pox the natural Way, as far as we know:* But of this more afterwards.

As for his second Story of Captain *Huffart*, it requires only a bare Reading to make it ridiculous; For no unprejudic'd Person of common Sense can believe that one, after having been *Inoculated* twice without any Effect, would try it a third Time: But after a third Time, to try it a fourth, fifth, and sixth Time, passeth all Degrees of Credibility. But it seems this Captain was not very certain, whether it was five or six Times; one *Inoculation* had quite slipt out of his Memory: he wanted one Quality, which the Proverb demands in some Sort of People. Since the Doctor can give Credit to this Story of Captain *Huffart*, and at the same Time question the Truth of what is said by eminent Physicians, who writ from their own and other Peoples Observations on the Spot, where *Inoculation* is practis'd daily; I appeal to my Readers, if I may not with Justice tax him of being partially

tially *Credulous* or *Incredulous*, as Facts make for or against his Purpose. And with all due Respect to the Senate of *Boston*, I question whether a Bill, or an *Hypothesis*, founded upon such a Fact, is more extraordinary. But allowing it to be true, what is the Inference? That a Person, who could not catch the *Small Pox* by *Inoculation*, had them the natural Way: If that were granted, will it prove, that one who has the *Small Pox* by *Inoculation*, may afterwards have them the natural Way? If upon the same Authority, the Doctor can believe the Story of the *Muscovite* Dragoon, or the *Inoculated* Soldiers in the *French Army*; I wish him much Joy. I promise him I will not (like the Gentry who went in quest of St. *Alban's* Trough) ride twenty Miles to be able to disprove it. I should be glad to know, which Way the Doctor supports so bold an Assertion, *That* [Page 17] *by the Account Dr. Nettleton gives, as also by the best Observation upon those who have been Inoculated in this City, scarcely a fourth Part of them have had a true and genuine Small Pox;* I have read over carefully Dr. Nettleton's Account, contain'd in his Letters printed in the *Transactions* of the *Royal Society*, N^o 370; and for my Life I cannot find any Thing to justify this Assertion; on the contrary he says, *We have not yet found, that ever any had the Distemper twice, neither is there any Reason to suppose it possible; there being no Difference*
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that can be observ'd betwixt the natural and artificial Sort, (if we may be allow'd to call them so) but only that in the latter the Pus- tules are commonly fewer in Number ; and all the rest of the Symptoms are in the same Pro- portion more favourable. I hope there is at least as much Credit due to an ingenious Pra- ctitioner, who writes from a very extended Experience, as to one who writes for the most Part by Hearsay.

As to those who have been *Inoculated* in *London* ; to oppose my own, and other Per- sons Testimony from ocular Inspection, against his, who talks by Report, may seem perhaps too great Presumption. I therefore challenge the Doctor to name the Cases and Authori- ties whereby he supports such a wild Affir- tion.

As to Mr. *Sp-----r's* Case, I will not pre- occupy my Reader with any Reflection ; but refer him to the Matter of Fact here subjoin'd, as it is testify'd by the Surgeon and Apothe- caries that attended him.

As to the Case of Lord *B-----t's* Servant, I refer to the Account subjoin'd.

He is just as much misinform'd of the Case of Lord *F-----s's* Son, who had a favourable Sort of *Small Pox*, and was in no Danger of his Life ; as the Physician who attended him will readily own.

As to the unfortunate Accidents which have happen'd to some of the First Rank by this

this *Ingrafting Method*; if I guess right who he means, one of them is perfectly well without any unfortunate Accident; and the Imposthumation, which had no Dependence nor Communication with the Incision, is perfectly cur'd without any Exfoliation of the Bone, or any *Hectic Fever*. But it is hard to charge the common Accidents of the *Small Pox* in general, upon this Method in particular.

It is no less a Misinformation, that the Children of a Nobleman, understood in his Letter, were *Ingrafted* from a bad Sort of *Small Pox*. As to what he says of the poorer Sort of *People of Scotland*, *running about with the Small Pox upon them, without either Shoes or Stockings*; the Doctor seems here to intend a Reflection, but I choose to avoid all Reflections, either National or Domestic. I believe the *People of England*, as well as those of *Scotland*, for the most Part, neither wear *Shoes* nor *Stockings* in the *Small Pox*: As to their Custom or Ability of *running about*, they are much in the same Condition, as they are here; some have them favourably, some otherwise, and every one has Conveniencies and Helps according to their Circumstances.

As for the three Letters from *Boston* in *New England*, printed by Way of *Appendix* to the Doctor's, It might suffice to say, that they are only a severe, and perhaps a just *Invective*

vective, against the Clergy and others, for
 meddling in this Branch of the Physicians
 Practice: Upon which Encroachment, some
 of the Faculty invoke the Vengeance of the
 Civil Magistrate; and threaten the Offen-
 ders, as *Poisoners* and *Spreaders of Infection*,
 with Prisons and Gibbet's: And if the Laws
 in being are somewhat deficient, modestly
 call, as some others have done, upon the Le-
 gislature for new Ones. This general Consi-
 deration is sufficient to invalidate the Credit
 of any Thing that is said by a Person so strong-
 ly interested: But so great is the Force of
 Truth, that it has extorted enough from this
 partial Complainant to justify the Practice,
 which he so bitterly inveighs against. For
 first he owns, that the whole Practice of *Ino-
 culation* was manag'd by unskillful Persons;
 and that many *who dy'd or suffer'd much un-
 der Inoculation, if they had had better Ma-
 nagement, might have had better Fate*. That
 the Practitioners neglected *as trivial both the
 Advantages of a suitable Season, and a well-
 prepared Body; That they Inoculated all A-
 ges and Constitutions from the Beginning;
 That they Inoculated Women with Child, and
 Hysterical People*: And after all, *They pra-
 ctis'd it at first with indifferent good Success:
 That it had been practis'd, since the Middle
 of June to the Date of his Letter, Dec. 20.
 upon above two hundred Subjects with vari-
 ous Success*. He tells you in his second Let-
 ter

ter, *That they had at that Time the Experience of two or three Hundred Inoculated*: And after all this, in all his three Letters, he gives you only two Letters of the Name of one *Inoculated* Person who dy'd, Mrs. *D---l*. He says at Random, *that others dy'd of it, whom Time may bring to Light*. Were the Bodies of those *Inoculated* Persons hid under Dunghills? Had they not Christian Burial? It is wondrous strange, that in a Place, where the Practitioners in Physick and the Magistrates both were against *Inoculation*, he could not come at the Knowledge of a Mortal Case but one, the *Inoculated* Mrs. *D---l*, who is trump'd up upon all Occasions: He says, *many of the Inoculated suffer much*, Page 2. What then? A Person that has the *Small Pox*, even in the gentlest Sort, must suffer, And at last, Page 10, he ingenuously acknowledges, *That the Small Pox (acquir'd by Inoculation) is frequently more favourable than in the common Way, and not altogether so mortal*.

Secondly, *That not one of the Inoculated during the Space of five or six Months has had the Small Pox in the natural Way, so far as we know*; that is, of about three hundred People *Inoculated*, some of which, no doubt, had only those Eruptions, which they will not allow to be the genuine *Small Pox*; In a Time, when the *whole Town and Country was an Hospital of People sick*.

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of the Distemper, and few Persons exempt from its Rage, for the Space of five or six Months, not so much as one had the *Small Pox*, for ought they knew: I say, if such a Case had happen'd, it is not probable it could have been conceal'd; and that this Acknowledgment from one, who is so zealous an Enemy to the Practice, is a stronger Proof of the Efficacy of it, for the Purpose intended, than all the *Is* and *May-be's* of this or any other Letter-Writer.

It had been fair in this Gentleman to have given in the Numbers that dy'd of the natural Sort of *Small Pox*, during that Season; or to have stated the Case fairly between two or three Hundred sick of the natural Sort, and as many of the *Inoculated* Kind, both under the Care and Direction of unskillful and un-experienc'd People: And then, perhaps, as in the *Inoculated* Kind, he could instance, by Name, only One that dy'd; In the other Sort he would have been puzzled to find the Names of those who escap'd.

But to this he will say, that the *Inoculated Small Pox* propagated the Mortality of the natural Sort. There is a full Answer given to this Objection of spreading Infection before. I think it is hard to exclude Men from the Means of securing themselves from a great Pestilence, upon a meer Suggestion: The Influence of the natural *Small Pox* upon Mankind, in any Place, in a Circle of
Years,

Years, may be affirm'd to be uniform with strong Probability ; and if the Air of any Place, in a contagious *Season*, is such, as renders the Distemper very mortal, it is a strong Motive for People to take the Advantage of a good Season, and secure themselves in Time from a Plague, which is so likely to destroy them : And if Prudence only were to be consulted, it would perhaps be much more the Duty of the Legislature to order, than to forbid this Practice. And no doubt, according to the Acknowledgment of the Enemies of this Practice, they would, by this Method, diminish the Mortality, and encrease the Number of their People ; and the Magistrate is forc'd often upon more arbitrary Proceedings in any Pestilence : But as that would seem too great an Encroachment upon the natural Rights of Mankind, I should not approve of it. But on the other Hand, it would be a most Tyrannical Encroachment upon the same Rights, to debar Mankind from the lawful Means of securing themselves from the Fear and Danger of so terrible a Plague.

As for the particular *Fætor*, that, according to the Letter, *attends the Sores of the Inoculated* ; it is much of a Piece with the Story of the *Kentish Long - Tayls* : It shews him to be an utter Stranger to the whole Practice ; and makes one doubt, whether he ever saw a Case of *Inoculation* quite through. And the *Pointing at the Inoculated in the*
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Streets, is as great an Instance of Barbarity, as the other is of Ignorance.

There is a Letter in Town from the Revd. Mr. *Mather* at *Boston* of a later Date, which has several remarkable Passages in it. *The Distemper* (meaning the Small Pox) *has lately visited and ransacked the City of Boston; and in little more than half a Year, of about five thousand Persons, that have undergone it, near nine hundred have died.*

But how many Lives might have been sav'd, if our unhappy Physicians had not poison'd and bewitch'd our People with a blind Rage, that has appear'd, very like a Satanick Possession, against the Method of Relief and Safety in the way of the Small Pox Inoculated? I prevail'd with one Physician (and for it, I have had bloody Attempts made upon my Life by some of our Energumens) to introduce the Practice; and the Experiment has been made upon almost three hundred Subjects in our Neighbourhood, young and old, from one Year to seventy; weak and strong, Male and Female, white and black; in Midsummer, in Autumn and Winter: And it succeeds to Admiration.

I cannot learn that any one has died of it, tho' the Experiment has been made under various and marvellous Disadvantages. Five or six have died upon it or after it; but from other Accidents.

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He mentions afterward *that Cats had it ; and takes notice of the same thing in Doctor Leigh's History of Lancashire ; and subjoins,*

That it was generally complain'd that Pigeon-houses of the City continu'd unfruitful ; and the Pigeons did not lay or hatch, as they us'd to do, all the while that the Small Pox was in its Epidemical Progress: And it is very strongly affirmed, that our Dunghill Fowl felt much of the like upon them.

At last concludes ; *with the great Benefit they have found by Blisters early apply'd and continu'd in the natural Small Pox, and is sorry it was so late before they fell into this Way ; but it has constantly prosper'd : I know not, says he, that it has once miscarried since we came into it.* I refer the Reader to his Letter annex'd.

It appears by this Letter, that somewhat more than one out of five, and less than one out of six died of the Distemper. And likewise, by the Effects mention'd upon Animals, that the general Contagion was owing to a bad Disposition of the Air ; and not chargeable upon *Inoculation.*

And lastly, notwithstanding the unfavourable Constitution of the Air, the *Inoculated* did well.

I doubt not but the impartial Reader is now satisfy'd that this Practice of *Inoculation* may be still beneficial to Mankind, notwithstanding any thing that the Doctor has adduc'd

adduc'd to the contrary, either by way of Argument or Fact. And that by the same zealous Partiality, it had been easy to have crush'd any, the most useful Practice in Medicine in the Beginning. It is pretty remarkable, that in a Neighbouring Nation, where Agues are the best Branch of the Physicians Practice, the Use of the Bark has been, and is still in a great Measure, suppress'd by Methods not much unlike what are us'd against *Inoculation*; and indeed every one of the Doctor's Arguments would have concluded more strongly against the Use of the *Cortex*, than against this Practice. I will suppose any Stickler against the Bark to have reason'd thus in the Doctor's Strain. *A Drug that has been only us'd among Slaves, an illiterate unthinking People, who have the Advantage of a warm Climate, and a Spare Dyet, is not fit to be immediately dispens'd to the English, whose Blood, speaking of it as National, is the Product of the Richest Dyet: Is it not plain by the Diseases that it often leaves behind it, that it spoils the Constitution? Witness the Jaundice, Tumours of the Legs, and other Cachexies that are often subsequent upon it. Besides none but Empirics can give a Medicine of which they are not sure of the Dose; Is it not plain that it will not answer the Design of preventing the Disease for the future? For notwithstanding the Use of this Drug, the Patient suffers many a Relapse. Besides*

sides there are not only one or two, but innumerable Instances of People who have died after the Use of it; and others, who have had a diseased Constitution all the rest of their Lives. The Dispensers of this Medicine disagree widely among themselves, both as to the Manner of its Operation and the Dose; Some give it in Tincture; some in Substance; some in greater, some in lesser Quantities, &c. In fine, there are three Letters from a Friend in New England, which inform me that many who have taken the Bark have suffer'd very much; and Mrs. D - - -l, who had taken great Quantities of it, actually died, &c. Tho' I have not my self made Use of this Medicine, nor seen much of the Effects of it; I am well assur'd, that not a fourth part of the Diseases it pretends to cure, are Genuine Agues: Before I had seen the Practice of this Medicine, I affirmed, that it was impossible, it would cure an Ague; but I am willing to retract that Opinion, being convinc'd by an Experiment, that it does so sometimes. It were easy to carry this Parallel reasoning thro' the whole Letter, not only with equal, but more Strength in most Places.

The Doctor, in appearing with so great Zeal against this Practice, is not the Representative of the whole Faculty. For there are many of them who from their Disinterestedness and Innate Love to Mankind, are willing, that an Experiment should go on, which,

which, in Proportion to the Extensiveness of the Practice, must necessarily diminish the Mortality of the *Small Pox* in general: This is a candid, as well as decent Way of proceeding. At the same Time, I only blame the Author of the Letter, and those who take part with him, for their too early and strong Prejudices; being unwilling to Censure their Intentions, which I hope, are for the Good of Mankind, as well as my own.

But there is still a stronger * Objection against this Practice; *That it is unlawful, and first introduc'd by the Devil, who Ingrafted Job of the Confluent Sort of Small Pox.*

From useful Discoveries, there can always be drawn important Consequences. *First*, Hence learn we, that the *Small Pox* is an ancient Disease; for if it was convey'd to Job by some such Way as Inoculation, the Matter must have been taken from some Body Infected with the Distemper. *Secondly*, That *Sydenham* was not the first that began the *cool Regimen*; for Job sat down upon the Ashes in the open Air; *his Friends saw him afar off*. *Thirdly*, That his Friends were tardy, above three Weeks before they came to see him; for in the Genuine Confluent Kind of *Small Pox*, it will be that Time before they can bear scraping with a Pot-

* Dr. Massé's Sermon, Page 6.

herd. *Fourthly*, Beloved, this confluent Sort of *Small Pox* were more gentle, to be sure, than the common natural Ones ; for he seems neither to have had Delirium, sore Throat, nor Shortness of Breath ; he talk'd distinctly and good Sense.

Now here a Question ariseth, Whether an honest Man can do that which the Devil has done ? I answer in the Affirmative ; there are three things mention'd ; of the Devil's Assembling himself (as in this Place) with the Sons of God ; Believing, and Quoting of Scripture. All these Things a good Man may not only do, but is bound to do.

I readily agree with this Reverend Divine, that if *Inoculating* the *Small Pox* be an unlawful Action, it cannot be justify'd by the Good which may ensue from it ; but that it is unlawful, must be prov'd, either by some natural or positive Law : That this Reverend Gentleman has brought no such Proof, either from natural or reveal'd Religion, will appear plain upon a very short Review of his Discourse.

Page 13.] He says he will attempt to prove, *That Diseases are utterly unlawful to be inflicted by any who profess themselves Christians* : He terms it very right ; for it is an Attempt to Prove, and no more. By restraining the Prohibition to Christians, one would think, there was some positive Command in the Gospel against it ; but he has brought none, which,

by the most forc'd Construction, can prove *Inoculation* to be prohibited by the Christian Dispensation. I know of no Immorality that is forbid to a Christian, the Practice of which is allow'd to an Infidel. Indeed Morality is more clearly taught and more strongly enforc'd by Rewards and Punishments amongst us; but it does not change its Nature amongst the rest of Mankind. He does not wonder, that the Practice of *Inoculation* should obtain, where the Doctrine of *Fatality* is believ'd; but the Misfortune is, that the Matter of Fact is quite otherwise: For if he had carefully perus'd Dr. *Wagstaffe's* Discourse, which he so much commends, that would have inform'd him, *That no Body pretends to give us an Instance of an Inoculated Turk.* And why? Because their Belief of a *Fatality* makes them neglect very much the ordinary Helps of Medicine for preserving their Lives.

Page 14.] The Instances which he gives of Almighty God's having given a miraculous Power to Mankind to inflict Diseases for their Punishment, does not prove, that He has not given them an ordinary one for their Benefit.

And his saying, [Pag. 15] *That no Man was ever yet condemn'd to an immediate Sicknefs, for Want of sufficient Authority;* is, without any Proof. Diseases are External, and Internal; the Magistrate very often inflicts both: That Criminals are lawfully punish'd with the

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Mutilation of their Body, I suppose he will allow to be common. Is not that inflicting a Disease with a Witness? And are there not many Executions perform'd by Poison, which is inflicting an Internal mortal Disease? And here his own Argument turns upon him; for, *if Diseases are sent for the Punishment of our Sins*, then it would seem to follow, that the Magistrate, who has a Power from God to punish our Crimes, has likewise a Power to inflict Diseases, *for Sins that are manifest to him and all the World*. The greater Power of inflicting Death, certainly includes the lesser in the Choice of the Means: If, for Example, there should be a Law made to punish the *Inoculators* with the *Inoculation* of some Disease, I fancy this Reverend Divine would not think it sinful or unreasonable.

Page 16.] He spends a long Paragraph, to prove what no Body ever deny'd; That a Man cannot lawfully do all that is in his Power to do: And another as evident, That the Means, as well as the Intention, must be lawful; but these are only general Propositions: The Subsumption, that inflicting Diseases for a good Purpose is unlawful, is only suppos'd, not prov'd.

Page 18.] He *doubts whether the Life of Man be a Good or not*. If the Life of Man is no Good, then, indeed, to act for the Preservation of it, is not to act for any good End; and consequently, not only this Pra-

etice, but all others in Medicine, and many other charitable Actions, must be given up. The rest of the Argument of this Paragraph, is grounded upon the Insufficiency of this Method for the Purpose intended. The Doctor might have remember'd, from his Exposition of his Text, *Job* had the *Small Pox* by *Inoculation* from the Devil, even of a favourable Sort; that he recover'd of them, and never had them again. But in this he must forgive me, if I put him in Mind, that he is out of his Sphere; and that notwithstanding his Professions to the contrary, he lays aside the Divine, and takes upon him the Physician. The Question here is, Whether giving a Disease with a good Intention, be in it self an unlawful Action.

Page 20.] Another Argument is, *That a Law which forbids the Evil, forbids also every thing that has a Tendency to it; therefore all causeless and voluntary Mutilations are forbid*: And yet, notwithstanding this Law against Mutilation, more expresse than any against *Inoculation*, Surgeons cut off Peoples Limbs. Here the Intention hallows the Action, which is in it self expressly forbid; and which is more, I believe no Surgeon will affirm, that in all Cases, where Limbs are cut off, there is a direct Impossibility to save the Patient's Life otherwise; or that the Operation is always successful. A Surgeon who cuts a Person for the *Stone*, even if his Patient dies of the Operation,

peration, does not think he has committed a mortal Sin, in inflicting a mortal Disease; and yet the Patient perhaps might have liv'd many Years, and not dy'd of the Distemper at last: The Difference of the two Cases, the one being for Cure, the other for Prevention, does not change the State of the Question; which, in general Terms, is this, Whether Mankind have a Lawful Power of inflicting Diseases for good Purposes? A Person who has not had the *Small Pox*, may be very justly consider'd, as having the Seeds of a mortal Distemper within him; and the Dread of it is surely a Suffering, that will justify the Lawfulness of using Means, which have the greatest Probability of saving him from a Danger, which, for ought he knows, may be nearer and greater, than that of a Stone in the Bladder. Anxiety and Bodily Pain, don't differ so much, as to make an Action lawful in one Case, sinful in the other.

Page 21.] But it seems *it is a Tempting of Providence*. And there is no great Difference between the *Devil's Proposal to our Saviour, to cast himself down headlong, and that of Inoculation*. It is wonderful, into what Absurdities, Zeal for an Opinion, will drive a Man, even to assert that there is no Difference between a Man's running into a Danger absolutely unnecessary, and from which nothing but a direct Miracle can save him; and a Venturing on a small Hazard to
avoid

avoid a much greater. The Case put it as disadvantageously as possible, more resembles that of a Person who leaps out of a Window for fear of Fire, and surely that can never be reckon'd a Mistrust of Providence, even if he did it before he was much in Danger; for no body can say that God Almighty may not save a Man from Fire in the ordinary Course of his Providence; And if a Person, who being prompted by his too early Fears had taken this Course, and lost his Life by the Fall; no body will arraign him of *Self-murder*: He might have done an imprudent, but not a sinful Action. The Parents who suffer their Children to converse with their infected Relations; which differs in no Moral Point from the Case of *Inoculation*, would think it very hard to be treated as Homicides or Murderers of their Children, when the very Action proceeds from, the contrary Principle, extreme Tendernefs.

Pag. 22.] In the former Page, it was a presumptuous Trust; in this, it is an intire Mistrust of Providence. He is sure to have the *Inoculators* some way or other.

Pag. 23.] They cannot pray for a Blessing upon their Endeavours; because Prayer supposes the Use of lawful Means.

I believe the contrary is true, for as a Person, who is *Inoculated*, puts himself more immediately into the Hands of God, if he has any Sense of Religion, cannot avoid praying

praying for a Blessing upon the Means, which, to be sure, he thinks lawful, and has not yet been prov'd to be otherwise.

Page 24.] His Argument to prove that *Inoculation* tends to promote Vice and Immortality is the most extraordinary of all. This it does, by taking off the Dread of the *Small Pox*, and consequently the Restraints of Sobriety that Mankind lie under upon that Account. This Reverend Gentleman has very justly found fault with one Maxim, to *do Evil that Good may come of it*: But he has establish'd one, just as dangerous in the room of it, *not to do Good lest Evil come of it*. For if the Diminishing the Fear of Dying of Diseases catch'd by Irregularity, is an Evil, then an able Physician is a common Nuisance. We have reason to be thankful, that there are a sufficient Number left, who cannot be charg'd with being Encouragers of Vice and Immorality, upon this Score. This Principle in its full Extent would destroy all Works of Charity and Mercy; for the Hope of Forgiveness is an Encouragement to do Injuries; and the Hope of being reliev'd in Want is a Discouragement to Industry.

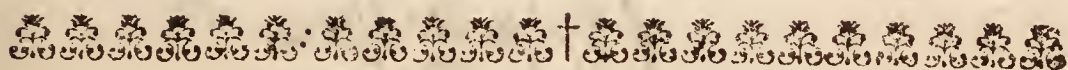
I am touch'd with the devout Reflections upon Providence, that are all along spread thro' his Sermon, to which I subscribe with all my Heart; but I cannot so much commend the Distorting those great and solemn Truths

Truths of our Holy Religion to maintain little Party Interests and fashionable Opinions. The Text that is quoted Pag. 22. that the very Hairs of our Head are numbred; I take to be a stronger Argument against Periwigs and Shaving; than all that the Sermon contains against *Inoculation*: Our Hairs of our Beards were given us for an Ornament by Providence, and it is known, that many have catch'd great Colds with mortal Diseases ensuing upon them by Shaving. Is not a Man answerable for all the bad Effects that follow upon an unwarrantable Action that contradicts the very Intention of Providence?

The Peroration Page 29, is equal to any Piece of the whole Performance, *Let the Atheist and the Scoffer, the Heathen and the Unbeliever disclaim a Dependance upon Providence: Let them Inoculate and be Inoculated, &c.* I think this clinches the whole Matter; and this Reverend Gentleman has furnish'd us with a new, sensible and religious Test, an Atheist or Infidel can be found out, as a Witch, by the Marks upon his Body: And that, as it has been intimated already, that the Devil was the first *Inoculator*; I think, it is not impossible that the next zealous Preacher upon this Subject may prove the Cicatrices of *Inoculation* to be the Mark of the Beast. Thus it appears, that the Doctors Position, of the Unlawfulness of inflicting Diseases for good Purposes, is groundless, and contrary to the common Usages of Mankind. I

I have been oblig'd to be the more particular in answering this *Sermon*, because the Charge in it against the *Inoculators*, is heavier than that in the Letter, in as much as Immorality is a greater Fault than bad Practice in Physick.

From all that I have said, I will draw this one Conclusion; that there does not appear as yet any Objection of Weight enough to stop the Progress of the Practice of *Inoculation*. But if upon future Trials, it should be found that the Inconveniencies do overballance the Advantages of it; I shall then be as ready to condemn, as I am now to justify it.



Certificate of the Honourable Mr. WILLIAM SPENCER'S DEATH.

April 22, 1722.

UPON Examining the Body of the Honourable *William Spencer*, Son of the Right Honourable the late Earl of *Sunderland*; We found the *Small Pox* of a mix'd Sort, distinct in some Parts, and confluent in others; almost dry'd and scal'd throughout the Body: All the Inward Parts were in their natural State, and free from any Mark of the *Small Pox*. In the Right Ventricle
H of

of the *Heart* there were two *Polipus's*, where-
 of one was branch'd out into the *Arteria*
Pulmonalis. In the Head, we found the Sur-
 face of the Brain full of Water ; and the Sub-
 stance of it flabby ; the Ventricles of it being
 as full of Water as they could hold ; The
Plexus Choroides being white by soaking in
 that Water : The *Basis* of the *Brain* was al-
 so full of Water. In the *Longitudinal Sinus*,
 there was a long and pretty large *Polypus* ;
 and likewise one in the *Lateral Sinus*. The
Cerebellum was in its natural State.

Apr. 22. 1722.

Sign'd thus, { *Claudius Amyand,*
 Isaac Garnier, } Apo-
 Thomas Garnier, } thecar
 John Reilliez,
 John Dolignon.

N. B. The Child seem'd to be in a fair Way
 on *Saturday* the 21st, 'till Two a-Clock
 in the Afternoon, when he was seiz'd with
 a Convulsion Fit, of which he dy'd in a
 Quarter of an Hour.

This is also { *Claudius Amyand,*
 Sign'd thus, { *Isaac Garnier,* } Apo-
 Thomas Garnier, } thecar





*The CASE of Mr. DEGRAVE'S
Daughter, in a LETTER to Mr.
MAITLAND.*

S I R,

I Find my Daughter's Case has made some
Noise in Town ; and has been misrep-
resented. It was thus : She was *Inoculated* the
23d of *Febr.* 1721-2 ; and as I saw her daily
during the three Weeks that she was con-
fin'd after the *Inoculation*, so I can affirm, no
Small Pox ever appear'd upon her during that
Time, but only Heats and Flushings, attend-
ed sometimes with Heaviness and Pain in her
Head, and a little more Quickness of Pulse
than usual, and oftentimes without any Dis-
order at all : None of those Heats and Flush-
ings ever came to Perfection, or to any thing
like the *Small Pox*, which gave my Daugh-
ter some Uneasiness ; and the rather, that the
other Persons, who had been *Inoculated* at
the same Time, and in the same House with
her, had a very fair distinct *Small Pox*, and
yet had less Sickness than She : Nor did
the Incisions in her Arms discharge so much
and so long as theirs did ; and therefore were
completely heal'd in less than three Weeks
Time,

Time, when the Sores of the other Persons were yet large and running. Thus all Expectation of her having the *Small Pox* by the *Inoculation* being over, she was purg'd once or twice, and then discharg'd from her Confinement, the 17th of *March* following: Nay, it was believ'd, she never would have that Distemper; for having been very much expos'd to the Infection, when she was but two Years of Age, and yet more when she was about Eight, without contracting it, this last Tryal being unsuccessful, seem'd to give a tolerable Ground for this Opinion. However my Daughter continu'd discompos'd, and out of Order, when she came Home; the Heats and Flushings abovemention'd still subsisting on her, though in a lesser Degree; her Stomach loathing Flesh-meats, and her Rest disturb'd with Dreams and Horrors. She had likewise two small Boils, one under her Arm, and another on her Side: But none of these Accidents were troublesome enough to hinder her Attendance on her accusom'd Business within and without the House: However these continuing for about two Months after she came Home, she was purg'd once or twice, in order to remove them; but still they subsisted upon her, not to any Degree, 'till the *Small Pox* broke out upon her, which happen'd in this Manner: Three Days before, she had heated herself extraordinarily; the first, by going to the *Camp* and back a-

gain,

gain, on Foot, in a very warm Day ; the second, by walking heartily to the *Charter-House*, to see her Brother, and returning Home ; and the third Day in going and sitting at the *Play - House* in *Lincolns - Inn - Fields* : As she sat at this last Place, the *Small Pox* broke out upon her : at least, I never perceiv'd it upon her, 'till her Return ; at which my Daughter was surpriz'd, she having had no Illness whatever, that could hinder her Pleasure at the Play, and her walking Home ; or any such precursory Warnings of that Distemper, which I hear have been divulg'd Abroad. As soon as the *Small Pox* had appear'd, she recover'd her Stomach for those Flesh-meats she had loath'd before ; and came to that natural compos'd Sleep, of which she had been depriv'd since the *Inoculation* ; And she having gone through the most favourable Periods of that Distemper, she got well in Eight Days from That I perceiv'd the first Eruption ; so that I must conclude, from the Symptoms which my Daughter was by Times afflicted with, during Eleven Weeks after she had been *Inoculated*, that it appears evident to me, the *Small Pox* she had then, was the Effect of the *Inoculation*, although it has shew'd itself much later than is usual, after that Operation. As to the *Itch*, that appear'd upon her about the same Time with the *Small Pox* : I can only account for it thus ; She had been Infected by her Brother, about
three

three Months before she was *Inoculated*, and I thought her cur'd of it by the same Means that were Efficacious for the Cure of her Brother. It is certain that when she was, there was no Appearance subsisting of that Distemper, nor any Shew of it, 'till that Time the *Small Pox* appear'd upon her. However, she is perfectly cur'd of the *Itch*, by the same Means that were us'd at first: And I thank God, my Daughter is at present as well, if not better, in every Respect, than ever she was in her Life.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

August 23, 1722.

ISAAC DEGRAVE.



*A Letter from Dr. NETTLETON, at
Halifax in Yorkshire, to Dr. JURIN,
R. S. Secr.*

S I R,

IN Answer to what you require from me, as to what has been farther done, I have only to add, that since I writ to Dr. *Whitaker*, I have made the *Insition* upon about fifteen Persons, who have all had the Distemper very favourably, and got thro' it with a
great

great deal of Ease. As nothing uncommon or extraordinary did happen in any of these Cases, it will not be necessary to trouble you with a particular Account of any of them: They were most of them at some Distance; the *Small Pox* being, in a great Measure, gone from this Town and Neighbourhood.

I am very sensible of the Favour done me by the Royal Society, who were pleased to take Notice of my Letter to Dr. *Whitaker*, which you had nothing to move you to, besides a generous Disposition to encourage the smallest Attempts towards any thing, that may tend to publick Advantage. I must own that all the Information I had concerning this Affair, which I have happen'd to be engaged in, was entirely from the *Philosophical Transactions*. 'Tis now about six Years since the Royal Society did communicate to the World some Letters from two very considerable Physicians residing in *Turky*, whose good Sense or Integrity we had no reason to call in question; these Gentlemen did solemnly assure us, that the Method of *Inoculation* had been for many Years practis'd in those Parts of the World, with almost constant Success. I had, as well as all others who have been engaged in the Practice, with sufficient Sorrow and Concern, been called to many in the *Small Pox*, whose Cases were so deplorable, as to admit of no Relief. And therefore I could not but be very thoughtful
about

about this Method, which promised to carry Persons thro' that cruel Distemper, with so much Ease and Safety. I was so far from knowing that it was a Crime, that I always thought it the Duty of our Profession, to do what we could to preserve the Lives of those who commit themselves to our Care. And I know no Reason, why we ought not, with all humble Thankfulness to Almighty God, to make Use of any Means, which his good Providence shall bring to Light conducing to that End. This Matter, tho' of so great Importance, lying dormant so long after it was known, is, I presume a sufficient Proof, that none have been very forward to try Experiments. But when we had the Account in the publick Papers, that it had by their *Royal-Highness's* Command been done with Success at *London*, I could not be satisfy'd without trying it here. I was soon convinced, that it would be of very great Use; and the more Experience I have had of it since, the more I am confirm'd in the same Opinion. I believe all others, who have seen any thing of this Practice, are in the same Sentiment, and there is no doubt, but in a few Years the World will acknowledge the Service, which the Royal Society have done to Mankind, in first revealing to this Part of *Europe*, a Thing so beneficial as it will certainly prove; for tho' some few unfortunate Accidents may sometimes happen, yet these will be very rare

in

in comparison of the many sad and disastrous Events, which this Distemper has been, and ever will be very fruitful of, while it is left to rage in its full Force and Violence.

Sir, I doubt not but when you have collected a sufficient number of Observations for it, you will be able to demonstrate, that the Hazard in this Method is very inconsiderable, in proportion to that in the ordinary way by accidental Contagion, so small, that it ought not to deter any body from making use of it. In order to satisfy my self, what Proportion the Number of those that die of the *Small Pox*, might bear to the whole Number that is seized with the Distemper; in the Natural way, I have made some Enquiry hereabouts, and I shall take the Freedom to transmit the Accounts to you, because I believe you may depend upon their being taken with sufficient Care and Impartiality. In *Halifax* since the Beginning of last Winter, 276 have had the *Small Pox*, and out of that Number 43 have died. In *Rochdale*, a small Neighbouring Market Town, 177 have had the Distemper, and 38 have died. In *Leeds*, 792 have had the *Small Pox*, and 189 have died. It is to be noted, that in this Town, the *Small Pox* have been more favourable this Season than usual, and in *Leeds* they have been more than usually mortal; but upon a *Medium* in these three Towns, there have died nearly 22 out of every hundred, which is above a *fifth*

Part, of all that have been infected in the natural way. I have in these Accounts confin'd my self to the Limits of the Towns. The Numbers that have had the *Small Pox* in the Country round about, is vastly greater; but the Proportion of those that die is much the same. I have made the Enquiry in several Country Villages hereabouts, in some I found the Proportion to be greater, in others less, but in the main it is nearly the same.

I am, &c.

Halifax, June 16. 1722.

THOMAS NETTLETON.



Mr. MATHER'S Letter from *Boston*
in *New England*.

March 10th 172¹/₂.

S I R,

SO considerable a Part of Mankind fearfully perishing by the *Small Pox*; and many more of us grievously suffering by that miserable Distemper, you will allow me to entertain you with a few more Communications, and writ (I think it's) a fourth Letter upon it.

The

The *Distemper* has lately visited and ransack'd the City of *Boston*; and in little more than half a Year, of more then five thousand Persons that have undergone it, near nine hundred have died. But how many Lives might have been saved, if our unhappy *Physicians*, had not *poison'd and bewitch'd* our People with a *blind Rage*, that has appear'd very like a *Satanick Possession*, against the Method of Relief and Safety in the way of the *Small Pox* Inoculated.

I prevail'd with one Physician, (and for it I have had bloody Attempts made upon *my Life* by some of our *Energumens*) to introduce the Practice; and the Experiment has been made upon almost three hundred Objects in our Neighbourhoud, Young and Old; (from one Year to seventy) weak and strong; Male and Female, White and Black; in Midsummer, in Autumn, in Winter, and it succeeds to Admiration.

I cannot learn that any one has died of it; tho' the Experiment has been made under various and marvellous Disadvantages. Five or six have died upon it, or after it, but from other Diseases or Accidents; chiefly from having taken the Infection in the common way, by Inspiration, before it could be given them in this way of *Transplantation*. However at present I need say no more of this, having already given you some Report of our Proceedings in it.

To them who are under the *Inoculation* of the *Small Pox*, we commonly give a *Vomit*, in the time of their *Decumbiture*, a Day or two before the expected Eruption. One of our Patients not vomiting so freely as he would have done, thrust a Finger or two into his Throat, which fetch'd up, what was to be discharg'd from his uneasy Stomach ; He had but a few of the *Small Pox*, and the Pustules were sufficiently of the *distinct Sort*, as it uses to be where they have the *Small Pox Inoculated* ; but the Fingers that had been thus employ'd, prov'd as full as they could hold, of the *confluent Sort*, which he now thought his whole Body would have been, if we had not in this Way prevented it.

Doctor *Leigh* in his *Natural History* of *Lancashire*, counts it an Occurrence worth relating, that there were some Catts known to catch the *Small Pox* ; and pass regularly thro' the State of it, and then to die. We have had among us the very same Occurrence.

It was generally observ'd and complain'd, that the *Pigeon-Houses* of the City continu'd unfruitful, and the *Pigeons* did not *hatch* or *lay* as they used to do, all the while that the *Small Pox* was in its Epidemical Progress : And it is very strongly affirm'd that our Dunghil Fowl felt much of the like Effect upon them.

We

We have so many among us, who have been visited with the *Plague* in other Countries many Years ago, and who have never been arrested with the *Small Pox* after it, tho' they have been exposed as much as any other People to it; that it now begins to obtain a Belief with us, that they who have had the *Plague*, will never have the *Small Pox* after it.

I will add but one Thing more. For Succour under the *Small Pox*, where Life is in Danger, after all the Methods and Medicines, that our *Sydenham* and others rely upon; I can assure you, we have yet found nothing so sure as this; Procure for the Patient, as early as may be, by *Epispastiks* a plentiful Discharge at the *Hand-writs*, or Ancles, or both, (I say as early as may be) and keep them running till the Danger is over. When the Venom of the *Small Pox*, makes an evident or violent Invasion on the Nobler Parts this Discharge *does wonderfully*. I am sorry it was so late before we fell into this Way; but it has *constantly prosper'd*: I know not that it has once miscarried, since we came into it.

March 10. 1721-22.

My

*My Lord B - - -'s Servants Case, by one
that constantly attended him.*

MY Lord B - - -'s Six Children were *Inoculated* the 18th April: Five of them had got thro' the *Small Pox* before the 30th, when his Servant was *Inoculated*. He came from *Cirencester* to My Lord's House in *London* about the Time that his Children had the *Small Pox* on them, with an Intent to be *Inoculated*; but Matter could not be found so soon as desired, and the Fellow in the mean time liv'd among the Servants that attended on My Lord's Children: Whether he had contracted any Infection by that Commerce is not determin'd; or whether the Disorder he had on him three or four Days before he was *Inoculated*, may be ascribed to that, as some have thought, or to a Change of Dyet and Air, or only to a Cold caught; 'tis most certain he complain'd then of Pain in his Head and Bones; and was feverish. Doctor *Mead* was consulted, and order'd him to be blooded, vomited, and other Medicines for his Relief; and that the *Inoculation* should be Postpon'd till after his Recovery: For this End he was remov'd out of My Lord's House to a Nurse, who takes People in for the *Small Pox*. He got well of his Complaints the 28th April; and 'twas thought proper to *Inoculate* him the 30th *Ditto*. He kept well till the
5th

5th May, and then had no other Disorder on him than what is usual before the Eruption of the *Small Pox* after Inoculation. On the 6th the Eruptions were plain of the distinct large Kind, and he was relieved on that Account; but at Night his Complaints returned on him, and were rather more severe than they had been, he having then a kind of *Dilirium*, frequent Vomitings and Stools; These continuing the 7th, Doctor *Arbuthnot* was call'd to his Assistance. Doctor *Mead* saw him also the next Day. They prescrib'd several things, which had the desir'd Success; but at this Time his Body was cover'd with *Small Pox*, and most of it of the confluent Sort. He continu'd in a tolerable good Way till the 11th of May, when his Fever was sharper on him, with a *Dilirium* and Difficulty of Breathing. He was then blooded and blisterd, but without any Effect. He died the 12th, and was open'd the 13th. Then upon Inspecting the Outside of his Body, the Face and Limbs were found as full of *Small Pox* as they could hold; as were also two Places in his Breast and Shoulders; they all appearing of the Confluent Sort. Nothing Material was observ'd in the Dissection of his Body, saving that the Lungs were Inflamed and mortified; and that in the Cavities of the Thorax there was a pretty large Quantity of bloody Matter extravasated.

I Here

I Here think fit to declare, that whatever Pamphlets, Advertisements, or Queries are, or shall hereafter be publish'd in News Papers or otherwise, as some have lately been, with unknown or fictitious Names of Persons Inoculated; and false in Fact, maliciously intended to Discredit this Practice, and impose upon the Publick; I will not take any Notice of them, except the Author will own his Name, and bring sufficient Vouchers for what he advances.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 3. line 26. r. more certainly. Pag. 24. line 30. r. applied.



(2P)

Mr. M A I T L A N D ' S
A C C O U N T
O F
I N O C U L A T I N G
T H E
S M A L L P O X .

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

To which is added,

A P O S T S C R I P T confirming the
Success of this Practice, from Mr.
M A S S E Y the *Apothecary's* Pam-
phlet on the Subject.

And a Word to the Reverend Mr.
M A S S E Y on his *Vindication* of his
S E R M O N .

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. PEELE at *Lock's*
Head in *Paternoster-Row*. 1723.

MR. M. L. L. L.

ACCOUNT

INOCULATING

STATE FOR



THE STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

January 1, 1880

THIS
ACCOUNT
OF
Inoculating the SMALL POX,
Is most humbly Inscribed,
TO THEIR
ROYAL HIGHNESSES
THE
PRINCE and PRINCESS
OF
WALES,

By Their
ROYAL HIGHNESSES

Most faithful, and

most obedient,

humble Servant,

Charles Maitland.



Advertisement.



HIS short Account of Inoculating the Small Pox, bating the later Cases annexed, was ready for the Press some four Months since, and would then have been Published, had not their Royal Highnesses (at whose Command the Operation at Newgate was performed) been all this while generously intending farther to oblige the Publick, by encouraging and promoting other Trials of that Kind, both upon Parish Children and grown Persons. But These, for certain Reasons, having hitherto been obstructed, if yet they shall be brought to bear, Care will be taken in due Time to give the World a true and faithful Relation of them; or failing them of any other observable Cases in this Practice.

It has also been thought fit, for a farther Confirmation of the Truth, to subjoin some Certificates from the Country, under the Hands of the Persons immediately concerned: Those Trials not having been made, as the others here related were, in the Presence of any one or more of the London Physicians.



Mr. Maitland's ACCOUNT

Of INOCULATING the

SMALL POX.



HAVING understood, since my Retirement into the Country, that the late Experiment of Inoculating the Small-Pox at *Newgate*, has been pretty much talk'd of; and finding withal, that the Reports of that Matter are various, and oftentimes contradictory: I thought it became me, to give the Publick a plain and honest Account of the Truth of Facts; both to prevent, if possible, any one's being impos'd upon, as to the Trials already made; or scar'd from the Practice of *it* for the future.

'Tis not here my Design to offer an Essay on the Theory of the Small-Pox; or to attempt the best Methods of Cure: I leave that to the learned Gentlemen of the Profession; who, I do not question, notwithstanding all their best Discoveries and Observations hitherto made, will certainly agree with me, That *it* is a Distemper of the most fatal and destructive kind; and that, far from being possess'd of any infallible Method or Remedy, they will own, 'tis many Times too too hard for them, and very often baffles the most celebrated Skill.

They cannot then be offended, (I am sure the better and more candid Part of the Faculty will not) if, out of a single View of doing good, I here publish to the World a certain Method of Relieving Mankind, and rescuing them from the Fears and fatal Effects of that very loathsome and malignant Disease.

The Method I here propose, is no other than that very plain one of raising the *Small Pox* by *Inoculation*. A Method, new indeed, and utterly unknown here, till of late, tho' universally practis'd with Success all over *Turky* these threescore Years past; and in other Parts of the *East*, an hundred, or, for ought we know, some hundreds of Years before. The Practice having thus obtain'd amongst an illiterate Sort of People, what I here offer to recommend *it*, shall be delivered in the plainest

Man-

Manner, and suited to the meanest Capacity, without the labour'd Embellishments of Learning or Eloquence: And indeed, one would think, these should not be here wanted, to reconcile to this very safe and useful Method, even Persons of a higher Rank, and more delicate Taste; especially since they, of all Sorts of People, generally speaking, suffer the most; witness the Havock made in great Families, not many Months since, by that Mighty Disease, which seem'd then to go forth like a destroying Angel, subduing all before it, and contemning all human Means us'd to stop *its* Career.

It may therefore be hop'd, that This Practice should meet with a kind Reception even by them, who, of all others, are most terribly fearful of the prodigious Loathsomeness of the Distemper, and of the ugly and monstrous Effects *it* leaves, both on them, and their Children: Yet being apprehensive, that Sloth and Laziness, ill-placed Affection and Tendernefs, and it may be, some worse Dispositions too, which I am not willing to suggest, may possibly stifle this safe and useful Method in its Birth; I shall here take a little Pains to obviate the Scruples and Objections, which are commonly rais'd against *it*. And in Order to this, shall, first of all, give a Short and Historical Account of what I

have seen and practis'd, both in *Turky* and at *London*.

In the Year 1717, when I had the Honour to attend the *English* Ambassador and his Family at *Constantinople*, I had a fair Opportunity fully to inform my self of what I had long before heard, namely, the famous Practice of *Transplanting*, or raising the *Small Pox* by *Inoculation*.

My Enquiry chiefly turn'd upon two or three Particulars, which, I thought, could I be well satisfied in, would go a great way towards convincing me of the mighty Advantages and Safety of the Method, and resolving my greatest Scruples and Difficulties against *it*.

Having heard that this contagious Disease, which for many Centuries of Years has prov'd such a terrible Scourge to Mankind, had its first Rise in *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and other Parts of the *East*, I thought it proper to enquire, *First*, Whether it continues still to rage in the *Turkish* Dominions in that violent Manner it was anciently observ'd to do ; and as at times, *it* is known to attack us here, and most other Parts of *Europe* : For should *it* be found to be always of a milder and more temperate Sort than ours, why should that People take so very strange and uncommon a Way to avoid *it* ? I quickly found the Case to be quite otherwise, being assur'd, besides what

what I saw with my Eyes, that the *Small Pox* is rather more Malignant and Epidemic there, than with us; infomuch that, as some have affirmed, one half, or at least one third Part of the Diseased, at certain Times, do die of *it*; and they that escape, are terribly disfigur'd by it †.

Again, I enquired what were the Symptoms which attend this new and strange Operation? And whether the Issue is always known to be salutary? The Disorder both before and after the Eruption was so very slight and gentle, that, in Strictness of Speech, it could not be called a Disease, having none of the usual Complaints of Pain in the Back, Vomitings, Head-achs, Thirst, Inquietude, and the like, the Pulse being only somewhat fuller and higher than before; yet so far from a Fever, that it scarce deserves the Name of a *Febricula*, bating some singular Instances, which are so rare, that they are not One to a Thousand. And last of all, which I thought not a little material, The Pustules, whether many or few, (and they commonly were from 10 to an 100, sometimes more) never left any Marks or Pits behind them, except only in the Incisions, or Parts Ingrafted.

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† Vid. D. Timoni & Pylatini Epist.

But still I had one Difficulty left, which I took to be the most considerable ; and which, if not fully clear'd, would render, in my Opinion, the whole of the Process but trifling and precarious : And that is, whether every one who has undergone this Operation, is really secured against all future Danger of catching the *Small Pox* by Infection ? Were I but well assur'd of this, I should then, I thought, be at Liberty to practise *it* my self, and likewise with Confidence recommend *it* to others. All my Enquiries here were fully answered beyond Expression : For I was assured by all, and they could have no Design to impose upon me, that there was not an Instance known of any one's being ever infected, who had had any Pustules at all, how few so ever rais'd by *Inoculation* ; tho' for a further Trial, several had been once and again Ingrafted ; and others also had been confined to the Room, and in the same Bed too with the Infected. This I rejoiced to hear, and from thence concluded the Practice to be universally safe and useful. And indeed wonder'd not a little, that, notwithstanding the Authentic Accounts thereof more than once transmitted into *England*, there had never been hitherto any fair and full Trial made of it.

Hence also I could not forbear admiring the very great Sagacity of the Men who first invented this Method ; and the laudable

dable and diligent Observation of them too, who so carefully practis'd it themselves, and so faithfully convey'd it to their Neighbours : They all indeed were sensible of the Benefit, and found their Account in it.

About this Time, the Ambassador's ingenious Lady, who had been at some Pains to satisfy her Curiosity in this Matter, and had made some useful Observations on the Practice, was so thoroughly convinced of the Safety of it, that *She* resolv'd to submit *her* only Son to it, a very hopeful Boy of about Six Years of Age : She first of all order'd me to find out a fit Subject to take the Matter from ; and then sent for an old *Greek* Woman, who had practis'd this Way a great many Years : After a good deal of Trouble and Pains, I found a proper Subject, and then the good Woman went to work ; but so awkwardly by the shaking of her Hand, and put the Child to so much Torture with her blunt and rusty Needle, that I pitied his Cries, who had ever been of such Spirit and Courage, that hardly any Thing of Pain could make him cry before ; and therefore Inoculated the other Arm with my own Instrument, and with so little Pain to him, that he did not in the least complain of it. The Operation took in both Arms, and succeeded perfectly well. After the third Day, bright red Spots appear'd in his Face, then disappear'd ; and thus interchangeably (as it

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commonly happens) till in the Night betwixt the Seventh and Eighth Day, he was observed to be a little hot and thirsty, yet remain'd so but a few Hours ; and then the *Small Pox* came out fair : They became round and yellow, like those of the more gentle distinct kind ; and the Red Spots which appeared first, were the fullest and largest of all : They began to crust a few Days after, and then gently died away ; so that the young Gentleman was quickly in a Condition to go Abroad with Safety. He had above an hundred in all upon his Body ; but without any the least Disorder but what I have mentioned : And they all fell off, without leaving any one Mark or Impression behind them. This Operation was performed at *Pera* near *Constantinople*, in the Month of *March* 1717.

The Honourable Lady abovementioned, who had been happily delivered of a Daughter some three Months before, seeing the great Success of the Operation upon her Son, had a Mind to have it tried also upon the Infant : But this, for certain Reasons, was then laid aside, and I hope very luckily, being reserv'd to set the First and Great Example to *England*, of the perfect Safety of this Practice, and especially to Persons of the First Rank and Quality, who have ever suffer'd so much by that fatal Distemper.

This Noble Lady sent for me last *April* and when I came, she told me, she was now resolved to have her Daughter Inoculated, and desir'd me forthwith to find out Matter for the Purpose. I pleaded for a Delay of a Week or two, the Weather being then cold and wet; for indeed, I was unwilling to venture on an Experiment altogether new and uncommon here, in a cold Season; tho' I am now convinc'd it may, with due Care, be practis'd at all Times and Seasons, but still with more Safety in the temperate and favourable. I also pray'd, that any two Physicians, whom they thought fit, might be call'd, not only to consult the Health and Safety of the Child, but likewise to be Eyewitnesses of the Practice, and contribute to the Credit and Reputation of it. This indeed was at first deny'd me, it may be, out of a Design to keep it secret, or least it should come to nothing.

In the mean time having found proper Matter, I ingrafted it in both Arms, after the usual Manner; the Child was neither blooded nor purg'd before, nor indeed was it necessary, considering the clean Habit of Body, and the very cool, regular Diet she had ever been kept to from her Infancy. She continued easie and well, without any sensible Alteration, bating the usual little Spots and Flushings, till the tenth Night, when she was observ'd

to be a little hot and Feverish. An ancient Apothecary in the Neighbourhood being then call'd, prudently advis'd not to give the Child any Medicine, assuring them there was no Danger, and that the Heat would quickly abate, which accordingly it did ; and the Small Pox began next Morning to appear, which was indeed some two Days later than usual, by reason of the uncommon Discharge of Matter at the Incisions from the Beginning. Three learned Physicians of the College were admitted, one after another, to visit the young Lady ; they are all Gentlemen of Honour, and will on all Occasions declare, as they have hitherto done, that they saw *Miss Wortley* playing about the Room, chearful and well, with the Small Pox rais'd upon her ; and that in a few Days after she perfectly recover'd of them. Several Ladies, and other Persons of Distinction, visited also this young Patient, and can attest the Truth of this Fact. I need not here be more particular in determining the several Periods of this Case, they being the very same with that abovementioned ; except only that here the Pustules were not so many, nor did they ripen so soon ; which may be easily accounted for, without having Regard to the Difference of Climates, for there is little or nothing in that, seeing the *Circassians*, and others inhabiting the Banks of the *Caspian* Sea,

a Climate much colder and more difficult than ours, practise *it* with Safety.

Another Instance I shall give for the further Confirmation of this Practice; namely, one of the learned Physicians above-mentioned, who had visited *Miss Wortley*, having some Years since fully inform'd himself of this Method of Practice, and being thoroughly satisfied of the Safety and Reasonableness of it, at length resolved to try it in his own Family: He had formerly lost some Children in a very malignant kind of the Small Pox, and therefore desired me to lose no Time to ingraft the only Son he had left. The Boy (who was not quite Six Years of Age) being of a pretty warm and sanguine Complexion, the Doctor ordered about five Ounces of Blood to be taken from him; and then, in ten Days after, having found Matter which he lik'd, I inoculated him in both Arms. This was performed the *11th* of *May*; next Day having look'd at the Incisions, I found them both inflam'd, which convinced me the Thing had taken. Some Red Spots appeared about his Temples the third Day; and some two or three Pustules between the seventh and eighth; the Boy being all the while without any Thing of Thirst, Head-ach, or any other Disorder, only his Pulse was observ'd to be fuller and quicker; and then about the *10th* or *11th*, some more Pustules appear'd round

and yellow; and in two or three Days more dy'd away: The Incisions continuing all the while inflamed, and discharging a thick well-digested Matter.

Here I could bring a great many Cases of Persons inoculated in *Turky*, to prove the constant and certain Success of this Practice; in all which I have never seen any Miscarriage, except in One, which was wholly owing to the Rashness and Inadvertence of a Surgeon at *Constantinople*. I would not here be thought to pretend to a Secret, or to make a Mystery of this Operation; no, my Design is, only to advise every one that attempts it to be cautious: For ill Consequences may sometimes happen, and never more than in Things common and easy, and adapted to vulgar Capacities. In it self indeed it is simple and obvious, and may, like other plain Chirurgical Operations, be in a manner Mechanically learn'd and practis'd: For, not to mention several Surgeons, whose Business it is; I knew an old *Greek* Woman, who, having been taught it from her Youth, had practis'd it with Success a great many Years.

Hence, if any Regard be due to Facts, and to the most certain Observation and Experience of others; which, in Matters of Practice, have ever been counted the best and surest Direction; I am perswaded, all impartial People will allow this Method to be not only safe, but useful; and highly
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worthy to be receiv'd with Esteem and Applause. Is it not a Matter of the greatest Importance to us, to know how to prevent the mighty Contagion of the Small Pox; and how to preserve our Children and Families from the violent Attacks, and fatal Effects of it? What would not tender Parents give to secure to them the Lives and Features of their beloved Offspring; when they behold them disfigured by the loathsome Disease, and struggling with the Pangs of Death? Do not we oftentimes see great Families extinguish'd by it, as by the Plague, and their Titles and Estates thereby transmitted to Strangers? And if they have the good Fortune to escape with their Lives, what an ugly Change from what they were before? What Pittings, Seams, and Scars in their Faces? What Films and Fistula's, and sometimes Blindness in their Eyes? What Ulcers and Imposthumes in their Bodies; Contractions of the Nerves, and even Lameness for Life? Again, to avoid the Infection, what Uneasiness and Disquiet of Mind, what Fears and Apprehensions do not even grown People labour under, especially the more delicate and tender? Don't they renounce all Commerce with their best Friends and dearest Relations? And if by chance they meet an Object that has but lately recovered, how susceptible then are they of
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the Distemper? And how few thus seiz'd do ever escape?

In short then, to prevent all these, and many the like Calamities, the almost universal and inevitable Consequences of this fatal Disease; I may truly venture to affirm, that the Method here recommended is, of all others hitherto known, the safest; and I am sure far more infallible, than that of the most learned and most cautious Practice.

I have, however, in Conversation, met with several Scruples and Objections against this Method; some whereof relate to the manner of the Operation; which, I hope, by the Account already given, are in some measure satisfy'd: Some again concern the Lawfulness of it; and others would even seem to question the Fact, denying that the Small Pox are hereby rais'd; or that the Eruptions ought to be deem'd of that kind; since they are not preceded by a Fever, nor attended with the usual Periods of the Distemper.

They that scruple the Lawfulness of this Practice, are apt to call it, a Presumption, a forcing of Nature, a tempting of Providence, and the like. True indeed, were the Operation in it self dangerous; and the Issue generally doubtful, as several, both in Physick and Surgery sometimes are, yet neither presumptuous nor unlawful for all that; I should be ready to own the Charge,

Charge, and yield it at once to the tender-hearted and the scrupulous: But pray, what are they afraid of? Is there any Thing here frightful, or shocking to the nicest and the most delicate? The Practice is most plain, rational, and easie, intended only to prevent the malignant Infection, and to preserve Life: not to give a Disease, and in this Sense, to force Nature before its Time; but in effect, to cleanse Nature from the latent *Fomes* or *Seminium*; and to secure against that popular Contagion. We have heard, and indeed it were much to be wish'd we had any that truly deserve the Name, of Preservatives against the Plague; And why may not *This*, which has elsewhere been so universally tried and approved, pass for One against the Small Pox?

But again, what do they mean by tempting of Providence? Can they imagine, that using the fair and proper Means of avoiding and preventing a Disease, is offensive to Providence? Why then do they Bleed, Vomit, or Purge, or use any other Remedy, to prevent a Fever? And why don't they trust that Providence, rather than dare to abandon their Families, and desert the Distressed, to flee from *this* or any other Disease? Nay, so far am I from counting this Method tempting to Providence, that I rather esteem it a Motive of Thankfulness to the divine Providence, and a great one too, for the Discovery.

As to the Objection against the *Fact*, denying the Small Pox to be hereby rais'd: Did the Eruptions come the natural and common way, I acknowledge it to be highly reasonable: For the only way we have to distinguish between the genuine Small Pox of the several kinds, and the spurious, or what they call the *Chicken Pox*, is not only by observing the Nature and Periods of the Pustules, but also by the first Invasion, and subsequent Progress of the Fever, and of the usual Symptoms attending it. The known Periods of the Small Pox are different, according to their different kinds; and this Difference ariseth, not only from the various Dispositions of the Juices and Habits of the Bodies affected; but likewise from the different Degrees and Qualities of the External Infection, howsoever communicated, as it is more or less subtil, malignant and epidemic.

Now in *those* rais'd by Inoculation, the Periods, tho' a little different from the common and natural, are, in their kind, as certain and regular as the other: A Difference indeed is observ'd of sometimes two or three Days, as to the Time of Eruption; but that is no more than what is common in the natural Sort. And thus too, it is with Respect to the other Stages of the Disease: I mean those of the Invasion, Maturation, and Declination; they are equal and regular, and what is more, the Process

Process is certain, and the Prognostick infallible.

But the principal and most material Difference of all lies in the *Fever*, which here is so gentle, that it hardly deserves the Name ; but in the natural, and especially the confluent kind, 'tis always violent, and often the immediate Cause of Death.

Were it not altogether foreign to my Design, and inconsistent with the Brevity I here propose, I could easily demonstrate the Cause of this Difference ; and make it appear, that the small Quantity of the Matter inserted into the Capillary Vessels of the Skin, is not capable of altering or dissolving the Mass of Blood, as it happens in the Case of Infection ; nor of raising an Ebullition sufficient to produce a Fever, and the dangerous Symptoms which always follow upon it : And yet it is certain, notwithstanding all this, that the Matter thus inserted does produce Eruptions of the right Small Pox kind, with good digested Matter, as hereafter describ'd ; and without any Thing of the Danger and Loathsomeness, ever inseparable from the other.

That it is the right and genuine kind, may be further prov'd beyond all Exception, by a few plain Instances here subjoin'd ; by which it will appear, that the Small Pox thus rais'd by Inoculation, is truly infectious and catching ; and that several Adult Persons, who never before had them,

have been actually seiz'd, by means of kissing and caressing a Child, not quite three Years of Age, while the Eruptions thus rais'd were upon it. What stronger Proof can reasonably be desired of the genuine Small Pox? And what need is there of more Words or Arguments to convince any one, that will not be perswaded by Facts?

I am hastening to give you an Account of those Facts, and do assure you, it shall be an honest and a true one. But before I come to it, I wou'd briefly take notice of a Question or two, which a learned Physician, one Day ask'd me, on the Subject. As first, Whether I was always sure, thus to give the Small Pox? And then, whether, when given, I cou'd engage the Patient should never take them again by Infection?

To the first, I answer'd, the Operation had never yet fail'd me, or any one else, that I know of; nor do I believe, it ever can, when duly perform'd, but upon Persons who have had them before: For I very much question, what some have affirm'd, namely, That there are People in the World, who are not susceptible of the Disease. In the mean time, I had a Mind, with great Submission, to have ask'd the Doctor a plain Question in Answer to his; and that is, Whether, when he prescribes a Purge or a Vomit, he is always sure, it will answer his Intention? For I have often heard,
that

that Vomits have sometimes prov'd Purges; and Purges, Vomits too; and, which is worse, that People have had the Misfortune to die under both Operations; which has never yet happen'd, in the Case of Ingrafting.

As to the Doctor's second Question, I have said somewhat already; and now can add further, that besides the frequent Experiments which have been made in *Turky*; as, of Inoculating the same Person a second and a third Time, and the like; I my self have lately made open and repeated Tryals, on one of the Six Inoculated Criminals of *Newgate*, reserved for that purpose, sufficient to convince any one, that there's no Danger of their Catching the Disease by any future Infection. This is, One † *Elizabeth Harrison*, of about nineteen Years of Age. Here I must observe to you, that this Girl had the fewest Eruptions upon her, of any of the five, that were Inoculated at *Newgate*, but had a more than Ordinary Discharge at the Incisions.

I first employ'd her as Nurse to a Servant Maid, very ill and full of the continued-distinct Kind of the Small Pox, in the House of Mrs. *Moss*, in *Christ's Hospital* Buildings at *Hertford*, whom she attended during the whole Course of the Disease. This Maid

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had

† See the Journal annex'd.

had hardly recover'd, when one of the Boys, about ten Years Old, of the said Hospital, was also seiz'd with the very same Sort ; I oblig'd her to lie every Night in the same Bed with this Boy, and to attend him constantly from the first Beginning of the Distemper to the very End: And thus she continued for Six Weeks together, without Intermission, or feeling any the least Head-Ach or other Disorder; tho', indeed, I once saw some Heats and little Pimples upon her, as Nurses commonly have under such Confinements. There's no Ground to question this Fact, being attested by a Cloud of Witnesses.

For a further Confirmation of what I have said, I once intended to have here subjoin'd D. *Timoni* and *Pylarini's* Letters, publish'd in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 339 and 347. But being unwilling to enlarge this Account beyond its just Bounds, I must leave them to another Opportunity, and withal take the Liberty to refer the Reader to them.

A Journal of the Experiment at Newgate.

London August 9. 1721.

IN Obedience to their Royal Highnesses Commands, I performed the Operation of Inoculating the Small Pox, on Six condemned Criminals at *Newgate*; in Presence of several eminent Physicians, Surgeons, and others.

The

The Names of the Criminals are,

1. <i>Mary North</i> ———	} Aged	36	} Years.
2. <i>Anne Tompion</i> ———		25	
3. <i>Elizabeth Harrison</i>		19	
4. <i>John Cawthbery</i> ———		25	
5. <i>John Alcock</i> ———		20	
6. <i>Richard Evans</i> ———		19	

August 9. 1721. Being Wednesday, betwixt the Hours of 9 and 10 in the Morning, I made Incisions in both Arms and the right Leg of all the Six.

10 and 11. *Thursday and Friday,* I find little or no Alteration in any of them, except *Mary North*, who sometimes was troubled with Vapours, as usual to her: They all sleep well, dress, and walk about all day, and are hungry for their Food: Their Pulse a little rais'd, but without any sensible Disorder.

12. *Saturday,* In the Morning observing the Incisions not so much inflamed, and tending to Suppuration as usual; and thence suspecting the Matter ingrafted to have been defective and languid, having been kept at least 15 or 16 Hours, for a very good, but unavoidable Reason; I search'd for fresh Matter, and having found it in *Christ's Hospital*, about 6 a Clock at Night I made new Incisions in each Arm of five of

of them; and ingrafted it as before. I had no Matter left for the sixth, *Evans*.

13. *Sunday* Morning, these five complain all of Pain in both Arms: Having taken off the Dressings, I find all the first Incisions inflamed and fester'd, but without any Sickness in the Patients; their Pulse sensibly higher, and their Water turbid.

14. *Monday* Morning, red Spots and Flushings appear on all the five; but most of all on *Mary North*, especially about her Face, Neck, and Breast: And so likewise on *Ann Tompion*: But without any Sickness, Head-ach, or Thirst; except a little they complained of in the Night; and a higher Pulse.

15. *Tuesday*, The same Spots and Flushings appear fresh in the Morning; but turn paler and darker towards Night, yet without any Disorder.

It is here to be observed, That the sixth, viz. *Richard Evans*, who had had the Small Pox in Prison last *September*, has had no manner of Pain, Heat, or Inflammation in any of his Incisions, nor any manner of Alteration otherwise: But all continuing pale from the Beginning, yesterday dry'd up entirely.

16. *Wednesday*, They all continue much as before, only their Incisions begin to discharge a thick, purulent Matter. *Anne Tompion* has a large yellow Pustule on the bending of her Thigh, and another on the
outside

outside of her right Arm, like Small Pox : And *John Alcock* has more fresh Pustules appearing on his Face and Arms ; having had a slight *Febricula* in the Night, with disturb'd Water. And *John Cawthery* has a large yellow Pustule on his left Cheek, and several small ones on his Face.

17. *Thursday*, The said *Alcock* has these Pustules appearing now fairly, with a yellow digested Matter, and red Bottoms, and a great many of them, but without Sicknefs. *Ann Tompion* has the same yellow Pustules on her right Arm and Thigh, with other fresh ones struck out about her Chin and Mouth.

18. *Friday*, *Alcock's* Small Pox appear still fair and yellow, but fuller and larger, with a bright red round them. All the others much the same, with their Incisions running.

19. *Saturday*, Last Night, this *Alcock* unaccountably pricks and opens all the Pustules he could come at with a Pin ; which occasions them to fall and crust sooner : But they continue red at Bottom ; and the Incisions in him abate of their Running.

It is here to be noted, that tho' he has had by much the greatest Number of Pustules or Small Pox upon him, yet the second Time he was touch'd in one Arm only, there not being Matter enough for the other Arm ; whereas the other four had both Arms ingrafted, and Matter in Abundance.

20 and 21. *Sunday* and *Monday*, All of them continue as before: The Incisions on the other four, run still a thick, digested, yellow Pus.

Here I must observe, that the second Incisions in both Arms, by which a vast Discharge has been made, seem to me, in the Issue, to have been rather a Prejudice and Impediment to the *Eruption*, than to have, in any Sort, contributed towards it: But however, I believe them to be, in all Respects, as safe from any future Infection as *Alcock*, who had 60 Small Pox, at least upon him.

22 and 23. *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, All of them continue well; and their Incisions cease running, and dry up apace.

24. *Thursday*, I purg'd *Alcock* and *Cawthery* for the first Time; and did design also to purge the three Women; but was prevented by their *Monthly Purgations*, which, I was not a little surpriz'd to hear, seiz'd them all about the same Time; tho' some of them had been obstructed several Months before.

28. *Monday*, *Mary North*, before she was quite free, unaccountably wash'd in cold Water, and thence caught a violent Colic, which lasted near two Days.

30. *Wednesday*, They all three take a purging Potion, which answers the Intention, and perfectly carries off *Mary North's* Colic Pains.

31. The two Men are again purg'd, in Order to their being discharg'd. And so likewise, next Day, are the Women.

And on the Sixth of *September*, they were all dismiss'd to their several Counties and Habitations.

To conclude, The Thing has been successful on all the Five, far beyond my Expectation, considering their Age, Habit of Body, and Circumstances; and it has perfectly answer'd Doctor *Timoni's* Account of this Practice, and also the Experience of all who have seen it in *Turkey*.

I cannot here forbear mentioning the very ample Testimony, which Mr. *Cook*, an eminent *Turkey* Merchant, one Day gave to this Experiment, in my Hearing at *Newgate*; After having seen the Persons ingrafted, and fully consider'd their Incisions and Eruptions; He openly declared, they were the very same with what he had ever observed in *Turkey*, of which he had seen a great many Instances: And that we might be assur'd, none of these here would ever be infected with the Small Pox again.

And it is particularly remarkable in this whole Affair, that tho' there was not the least encouraging or favourable Circumstance attending it before the Operation; yet after it, nothing in any sort dangerous or unsuccessful did happen: Although no Art, nor stimulating Medicine, was made Use of

to promote the Eruptions; not so much as to oblige the Patients to keep their Bed; the whole having been left to Nature, assisted by a strict and regular Diet.

October 2. 1721. After due Preparation of the Body, I ingrafted *Mary Batt*, an Infant of two Years and an half old; Daughter of *Thomas Batt*, a Quaker, living at *Temple*, within three Miles of *Hertford*: The red Spots and Flushings appeared on her Face and Neck the fourth Day; and she kept playing about well till the seventh or eighth, when she became a little heavy and thirsty, with a fuller and quicker Pulse; then the Pustules came out fresh and full, and the Incisions discharged a thick well-digested Matter. She had not above 20 in all upon her; they continued about three or four Days, then dry'd away and fell off, and the Child recover'd perfectly.

Thus far all was well; but what happen'd afterwards was, I must own, not a little surprizing to me, not having seen or observ'd any Thing like it before. The Case was in short this; Six of Mr. *Batt's* Domestick Servants, viz. four Men and two Maids, who all, in their Turns, were wont to hug and caress this Child whilst under the Operation, and the Pustules were out upon her, never suspecting them to be catching,

catching, nor indeed did I, were all seiz'd at once with the right natural Small Pox, of several and very different kinds; for some had the round distinct Sort, some the small continued, and others the confluent; all of 'em had a great many, but especially the last, with the usual bad Symptoms, and very narrowly escap'd: But they all (God be thanked) did well, (except one Maid, that would not be govern'd under the Distemper, who dy'd of it) and now enjoy a perfect State of Health †.

October 12. 1721. I Inoculated *Joseph* and *Benjamin*, Sons of *William Heath* of *Hertford*; the first of about seven, and the second of three Years of Age; both with the same Matter, and at the same Time: the last had a very gentle and favourable kind, in all Respects like the abovenamed *Mary Batt*; but the first, viz. *Joseph*, being a fat, foul, gluttonous Boy, who would not be confined to the Rules and Directions I had strictly charged his Mother withal, as to Diet and keeping warm; was taken very ill before the Eruption, and after it had a great Load of the continued small kind, but at last recover'd and did well.

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† See the Certificates annexed, pag. 34.

What a mighty Difference is here to be observed between those two Boys ! the Reason of it seems to be plainly this ; The younger, who had the favourable kind, was of a clean Habit, moderate Appetite, and easily govern'd during the whole Process. The elder was not only, as I have said, of a gross, foul Constitution, but likewise had a voracious Appetite, always eating and filling his Belly with the coarsest Food ; as Cheese, fat Country Pudding, cold boil'd Beef, and the like ; which I saw my self as I came in by chance, the third Day after the Operation ; nor was there any Care taken to restrain or keep him within in cold, windy, frosty Weather ; he once wet his Feet in the Water ; in-somuch that had he taken the Small Pox by Infection, the World could not have sav'd his Life. Hence it appears how necessary it is to cleanse thoroughly those foul Habits before the Operation ; and withal to keep them to a very strict *Regimen* under it.

'Tis also here very remarkable, further to evince the Power of Infection, and the Genuineness of the Inoculated Small Pox ; that an Infant of about four Months old, then on Mrs. *Heath's* Breast, while she nurs'd her two Sons, and lay in Bed with them, was also seiz'd with the distinct natural Kind ; and in due Time perfectly recover'd.

Mrs.

Mrs. *Heath* also, by being Night and Day constantly with her Children, and always embracing and careffing of 'em, tho' she had had the Small Pox many Years before, struck out in several Pimples or Pustules on her Face and Hands, but without any Thing of Sicknefs or Disorder: which, we know, has often happen'd to Nurfes, by attending People in this Distemper; and even by washing their Linen.

Not many Days after this, I met Mr. *Hughes*, Judge Advocate General of his Majesty's Forces, who requested me, upon my Return to *Hertford*, to visit his two Children at his House in *Hertingfordbury*, which I promis'd to do; and found, when I came there, his Son, a Child of about 18 Months old, actually ill of the Small Pox; I immediately acquainted Mr. *Hughes* with this, and withal remov'd the Daughter, who was about three Years of Age, to a neighbouring Gentleman's House. Mr. *Hughes* then recommended to me the particular Care of his Son, and pray'd me, if the Small Pox shou'd prove of the favourable Kind, not to fail to inoculate his Daughter from him. The Boy had indeed the fair distinct Kind, and not a great many, and recover'd perfectly of them; but afterwards dy'd of a cancerous Tumour, which had been breeding in his Cheek and upper Jaw,
long

long before his Seizure with the Small Pox. But to return, I took Matter from him, at the proper Time, and with it Inoculated his Sister, *November 17th*, having first gently purg'd her. The Thing took; she sicken'd the *24th*, and two Days after the Small Pox appear'd fair, and continu'd to fill and ripen to *December the 3d*, then crufted and gradually fell off in the usual Manner.

This Young Patient had above two Thousand Pustules or Small Pox upon her, that came out well, fill'd up, ripen'd and fell off, observing the most regular Periods of the natural Small Pox of the distinct Kind; yet she did not keep her Bed one Day, nor wanted a Nurse to watch with her one Night during the whole Process; never having been affected with the usual Complaints and Symptoms of the Natural Small Pox; nor in the least pitted or scar'd with them.

I thought it proper to be the more particular in relating this Case, because of the very false Account which had been given of it in the *Post Man* of *December 2*, which, in my Absence, the Gentleman himself was pleas'd to contradict in the *St. James's Evening Post*, *December 7th*.

December 17. I Inoculated two of Mr. John Colt's Children, at his House in *Clement's Lane, Lombard Street*: The one

a Boy of 7, the other a Girl of about 4 Years of Age; their Bodies having first been duly prepar'd by a Physician's Order. They both sicken'd the 24th; the Small Pox appear'd on the Girl the 26th, and on the Boy the 27th; they came out gently, fill'd and ripen'd to the 3^d and 4th of *January*; and then died away as usual. Those Children had at least 300 Small Pox each, all fair and round; but the Boy had rather more: His came out later, and kept out longer too than his Sister's; which can only be accounted for (the Ingrafted Matter having been the same, and in the same Quantity) by the Difference of their Habits and Juices. In the mean Time, neither of 'em from the Beginning cou'd be said to be downright ill; nor was oblig'd to lie in Bed; nor, in a Word, was affected with any of the dangerous or bad Symptoms ordinarily attending that Disease, or consequential to it.

They being perfectly recover'd; *Saturday January 13th*, I perform'd the Operation upon a third Child of the said Mr. *Colt*; a Boy of about 6 Years of Age, who was also design'd to have undergone it with the other two the Month before, had it not been that he was then out of Order; he continu'd chearful and well till the 20th, when he became ill and feverish; then the Small Pox appear'd the 22^d, and three Days after, the Eruption being quite over, they

they grew fair, round, full and yellow, like the natural Small Pox of the distinct Kind, and thus went on to the 29th or 30th, when they began to crust and fall off after the usual Manner. This Child had a great many upon him, like the above-named Miss *Hughes*; and is also perfectly well recover'd of them: He was visited, while under them (as indeed were the other two) by several eminent Physicians, and other Persons of Distinction about the Town, who all unaniously agreed that it was the right Small Pox, and declar'd themselves fully satisfied with the Trial.

I do not here take notice of the little Heats and Flushings, which appear'd upon them in the Beginning; nor of the other more minute Circumstances generally common to all; nor of the proper Evacuations prescrib'd before and after; that I may avoid tedious Repetitions, as much as I am able. But I wou'd beg leave to add one Observation, the Reason of which is plain and obvious, namely, that the greater the Discharge of Matter at the Incisions is, the fewer commonly are the Eruptions; and on the contrary. Hence also the great Advantage of *Issues* in *This*, and other cuticular Diseases, may with great Probability be evinced and demonstrated.

But to conclude: From these few Instances, which I have here contracted into the narrowest Compass, several very obvious and use-

useful Observations might be made, and unquestionable Proofs brought, to shew, in the most Satisfactory Manner, that the Small Pox thus rais'd are of the true and genuine Kind; that they may be always given and communicated to proper Subjects, young or old, without any Danger of a Relapse; and finally, that this whole Practice, prudently manag'd, is always Safe and Useful, and the Issue ever Certain and Salutary.

The Certificates from Hertfordshire.

THESE are to certify, That Elizabeth Harrison, one of the Five Persons Inoculated at Newgate, hath lived at our House in Christ's Hospital Buildings at Hertford for above Ten Weeks, and has during that Time attended our Servant Maid, and after her one of the Boys belonging to the said Hospital, both in the natural Small Pox, and lay with the said Boy from the Beginning to the End of that Distemper, without Sick-ness or receiving the least Infection from them. As witness our Hands this 4th Day of December 1721.

Sign'd thus,

Pris. Mofs, } *the Mother.*
Sarah Mofs, } *Daughter.*

Sign'd in the Presence of us,

Robert Biscoe.

Christopher Sharp.

THESE are to certify, That Mr. Charles Maitland, Surgeon, did about the Beginning of October last, Inoculate the Small Pox upon my Daughter Mary, aged two Years and an Half, who had but a few of them, and perfectly recover'd in about Fifteen Days. I do declare that six of my Domestick Servants were seiz'd with the Small Pox, which I believe was owing to their carrying about and frequently conversing with my said Daughter, they having had no Correspondence during that Time, with any Person or Family who had them, which inclines me to think my Child had the true Small Pox: As witness my Hand this 7th Day of December 1721.

Sign'd thus,

Ann Batt.

Signed in the Presence of us, by our
Mistress; and we likewise know
the Contents to be true:

Thomas	+	Stimson	} Two Servants who receiv'd the Small Pox from the Child.
his		Mark.	
John	∞	Hutchins	} Two Servants who receiv'd the Small Pox from the Child.
his		Mark.	

Witness. L. Oakes of
Hertingforbury.

THESE

THESE are to certify, That upon the 12th Day of October last, Mr. Maitland, Surgeon, Inoculated the Small Pox into my two Sons, Joseph and Benjamin Heath, at Hertford, who are both perfectly recover'd of that Distemper, which prov'd a true Small Pox; and these are likewise to testify, that I had a little Boy about four Months old, sucking at my Breast, while I attended my Inoculated Children, who was seized with a vomiting fit, &c. and continued ill for some Days, after which the Small Pox appear'd fairly upon him; and is likewise recover'd: As witness my Hand this 4th Day of December 1721.

Sign'd

Eliz. Heath.

Sign'd in the Presence of us,

Nat. Stratton.

William Anderson.

Thomas Stratton.

The Mark N of Nurse Warner, who attended the said Children.

F I N I S.



SINCE the Publishing of my Answer to Dr. *Wagstaffe's* Letter, Mr. *Massey*, the Apothecary, in a Pamphlet upon the same Subject, has furnish'd an Observation in favour of *Inoculation*, which is very near to a Practical Demonstration of the Doctrine which I have advanc'd. He says, *Of several Hundreds of the Children in Christ's Hospital, which have had the Small Pox, none has dy'd within the Space of eight Years but one.* From which these Conclusions naturally follow.

First, That if the Mortality of the *Small Pox* is so small among young People, and such as are kept to a cool and regular Diet, (as that of the *Hospital* is) it must be still greater, than I have computed it, amongst the Adult and Irregular; since, of the Mass of Mankind, it is about One of Ten.

Secondly, That taking the Advantage of the Age, Preparation of the Body, cool and regular Diet, &c. must necessarily diminish the Mortality of the *Small Pox*; which has in a manner forced Mr. *Massey* the Apothecary to give up the Question; and to propose, *to bring the intended Patient, at a proper Age and Season of the Year, and after due Preparation and Regimen, to Places of Infection.*

Infection, or else to bring the Infection to them; that is, some Child, or Person with the Disease, into some Apartment of the Gentleman's House, &c. So that Mr. Massey has yielded these Points.

First, That the Advantage of the Season, Age, Preparation, and Regimen, before one has the Small Pox, will prevent the great Mortality of the Disease.

Secondly, That it is necessary, to prevent this great Mortality, that the Infection should be convey'd to Persons with the above-mention'd Advantages, designedly and on Purpose; he being, it seems not convinced of the Unlawfulness of this Action, by his Nephew's Sermon.

The only Difference then betwixt us is, as to the Method of giving the Infection; in which, I think, every ingenuous Person ought to submit to Experience: By what already appears, it will be found, that the conveying the Infection by the *Insensible Particles*, is neither so certain, safe, nor convenient, as that of *Inoculation*.

As to what Mr. Massey says in his *Post-script*, That he was *informed*, but does not tell by whom, *that Mrs. Heath reported, that I Inoculated one of her Sons, when she was absent, and without her Consent.* I believe Mrs. Heath never reported it. For she knows, that her two Sons were *Inoculated*
at

at her Request, at one and the same time; and whilst she was at Home: Nor do I believe, that Dr. *Dimsdell* ever said, what he makes him to say; *That he never had more Difficulty in his Life, than he had to save one of those Inoculated Children*: Since Dr. *Dimsdell* must acknowledge, That he never prescribed any Thing to either of those Boys during that Illness; nor did he ever visit them but once, when I prevailed upon him with great Difficulty to come, in order to see, and be convinced, that the *Small Pox* were fairly raised by *Inoculation*; he did not then stay above a Minute or two, nor ever came back again.

It is also false in Fact, That Mrs. *Smart* and her Maid lodged in that Family; and that they, or either of them, used any Argument with me against this Practice; for they lodg'd in their own distinct Family, without any Communication with Mrs. *Heath* or her Children; nor did Mrs. *Smart*, or her Maid, ever speak of that Subject to me; and particularly, the Maid never talk'd with me on that, or any Thing else, in her whole Life: It is true, she caught the *Small Pox*, which then raged mightily at *Hertford*, and dy'd of them; but was first seiz'd at the *Meeting-House*, at a good Distance from Home, and had never seen the *Inoculated Children*, nor had any Intercourse with that Family: Hence

Mr.

Mr. *Massey* may see, how little Credit is to be given to these Reports; and how much his Credulity may have mis-led him: And that instead of *Causa Causæ*, he takes *non Causa pro Causa*.

As to what the Reverend Mr. *Massey* has said in Defence of his Sermon; I appeal to the unprejudic'd Reader, Whether he has answer'd what I have publish'd: Or brought any new Argument to prove, *That Inflicting Diseases, is, in itself, an unlawful Action.*

F I N I S.



1722



